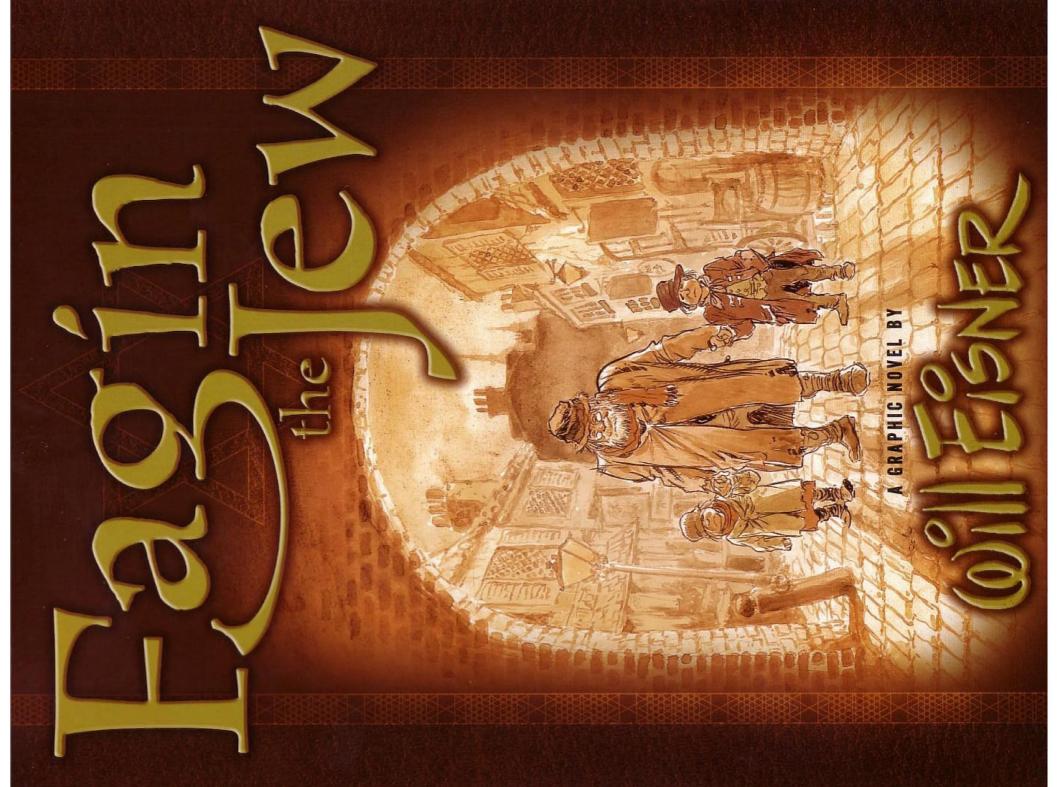
A REINVENTION OF DICKENS'S CLASSIC CHARACTER

WILL EISNER

FOREWORD BY BRIAN MICHAEL BENDIS



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DOUBLEDAY

Auchland Sydney Toronto London New York

Acknowledgments

I am most grateful for the research assistance provided by Benjamin Herzberg, which went beyond my expectations. To Dave Schreiner, my thanks for his keen insight and reliable editing.

And as always, I acknowledge my dependence on the patient, wise, and enduring encouragement from my dear wife, Ann.



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In June of 1940, I began a syndicated newspaper comic book insert called The Spirit, about a masked crime fighter. It featured a young African American boy, Ebony, as a humorous counterfoil. This was hardly innovative; Jack Benny had Rochester, the movies had Stepin Fetchit, and radio had ionable humor. Ebony spoke with the classic Amos and Andy. These were accepted stereotypical caricatures of the time. It was an era in our cultural history when the misuse of English based on ethnic origin was fash-"Negro" dialect and delivered a gentle humor that gave warmth to balance the coldness of crime stories. In my eagerness for readership, I thought I was on to a good

In 1945, after an interruption for military service, I returned to the feature. By then, I had become more aware of the social implications of racial stereotypes, and I began to treat Ebony with greater insight. As often happens with cartoonists, I became very fond of him and sought to make him as

real as I imagined him. As the rising civil rights movement became more prominent, I introduced a well-spoken black detective and treated my hero's black assistant in a more sensitive manner.

One day, I received a letter from an old high school classmate who had become a civil rights activist, chiding me for abandonthe editor of a Baltimore Afro-American ing the "liberal" views we shared back in school. That same day, I got a letter from treatment" of Ebony in my comic strip. These letters alerted me to the reality that, while my stories were designed as entertainment, I was nonetheless feeding a racial prejudice with this stereotype image. Still looking for ethnic diversity, I replaced Ebony with an Eskimo boy and later with Sammy, a white boy. The series ended in 1952, and as I continued my career in instructional comics, I never recognized that my rendering of Ebony, when viewed historically, was in conflict with the rage newspaper commending me on my

I felt when I saw anti-Semitism in art and literature.

While I didn't experience any guilt over my creation of Ebony, I became conscious of the problem over the years while teaching sequential art, as my lectures invariably had to confront the issue of stereotype. I concluded that there was "bad" stereotype and "good" stereotype; intention was the key. Since stereotype is an essential tool in the language of graphic storytelling, it is incumbent on cartoonists to recognize its impact on social judgment. In twenty-first-century America, we struggle with "racial profiling." We are in an era that requires graphic portrayers to be sensitive to unfair stereotypes.

So it is with this background and an awareness of the influence of imagery on the popular culture that I began to produce graphic novels with themes of Jewish eth-

adaptation, I became aware of the origins of few years ago, as I was examining folktales the ethnic stereotypes we accept without question. Upon examining the illustrations found an unquestionable example of visual ory of their awful use by the Nazis in World War II, one hundred years later, added typing. Combating it became an obsessive pursuit, and I realized that I had no choice but to undertake a truer portrait of Fagin of the original editions of Oliver Twist, I defamation in classic literature. The memevidence to the persistence of evil stereoby telling his life story in the only way I nicity and the prejudice Jews still face. and literary classics for possible could.

This book, therefore, is not an adaptation of Oliver Twist! It is the story of Fagin the Jew.

-WILL EISNER, FLORIDA, 2003



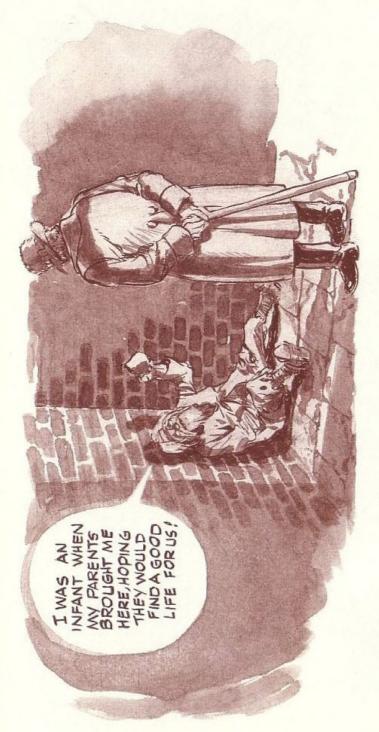
TARRY
A BIT, MISTER
DICKENS, WHILE
OL' FAGIN HERE
TELLS YOU, SIR,
WHAT I
REALLY WAS
AND HOW
IT ALL
CAMETO BE



My parents arrived in London along with other Jews fleeing Middle Europe. How they managed the journey, God only knows.

They were the earliest to arrive and had arriving Middle Europeans were regarded as lower England was a country that had long been a refuge were not subject to special laws or legal pogroms. Here they found a better community, where Jews class. Germans, Poles, and the like were called become well established, whereas the newly for Spanish and Portuguese Jews known as Ashkenazim. Sephardim.

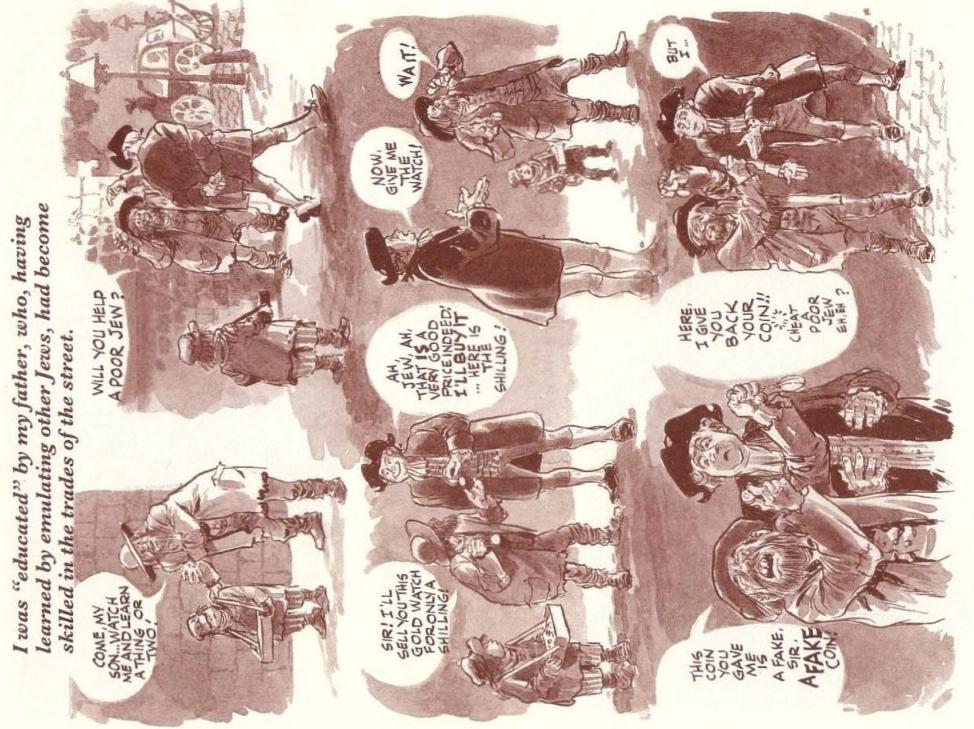




These pauperdom perfumed by the promise of opportunity. were grim times, and yet the best of times for us newcomers. We were uneducated and endured a But for us, even London life was not so simple.

opportunity bloomed in the dirty streets of London. It was Aye, 'twas, not to put too fine a point on it, a time when where, when I was still a mere tyke, my parents put me out to peddle needles and buttons.









ENGLAND IS A TOLERANT COUNTRY.
AND WHILE IT IS NOTQUITE A LAND OF
MILK AND HONEY A JEW CAN MAKE, HERE,
A LIVING... EVEN IF ONE ISN'T FROM
SPAIN OR PORTUGAL... A SEPHARDIC!

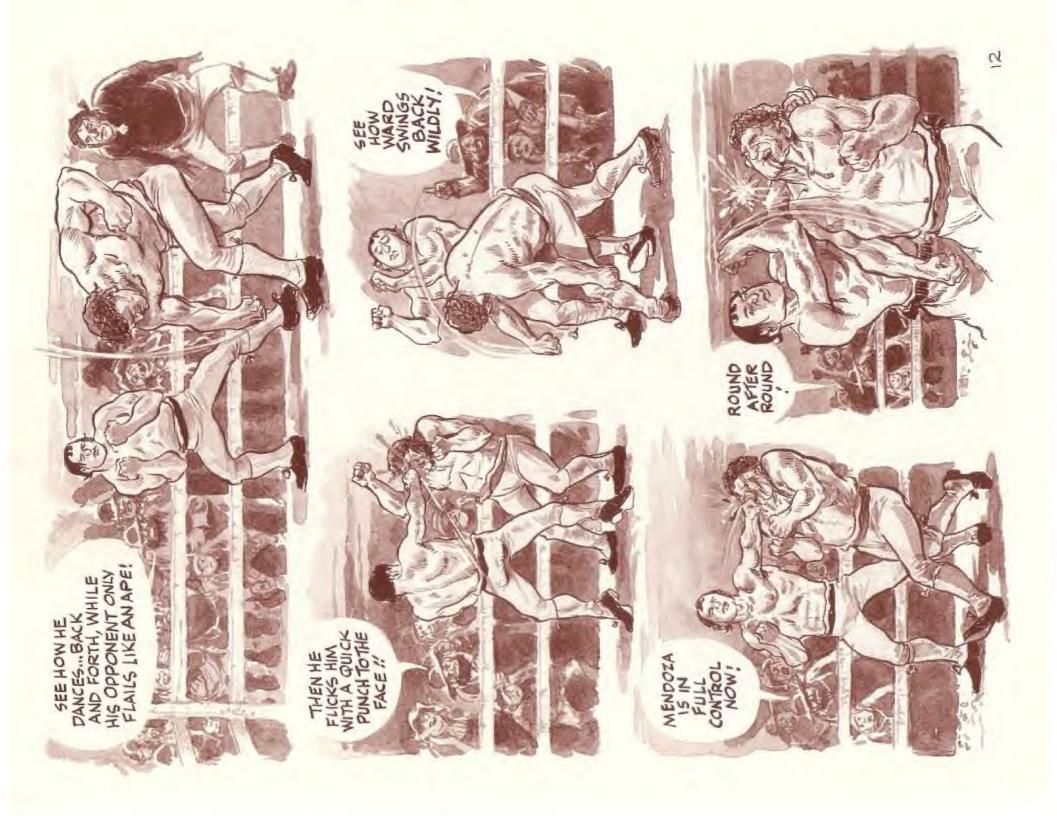


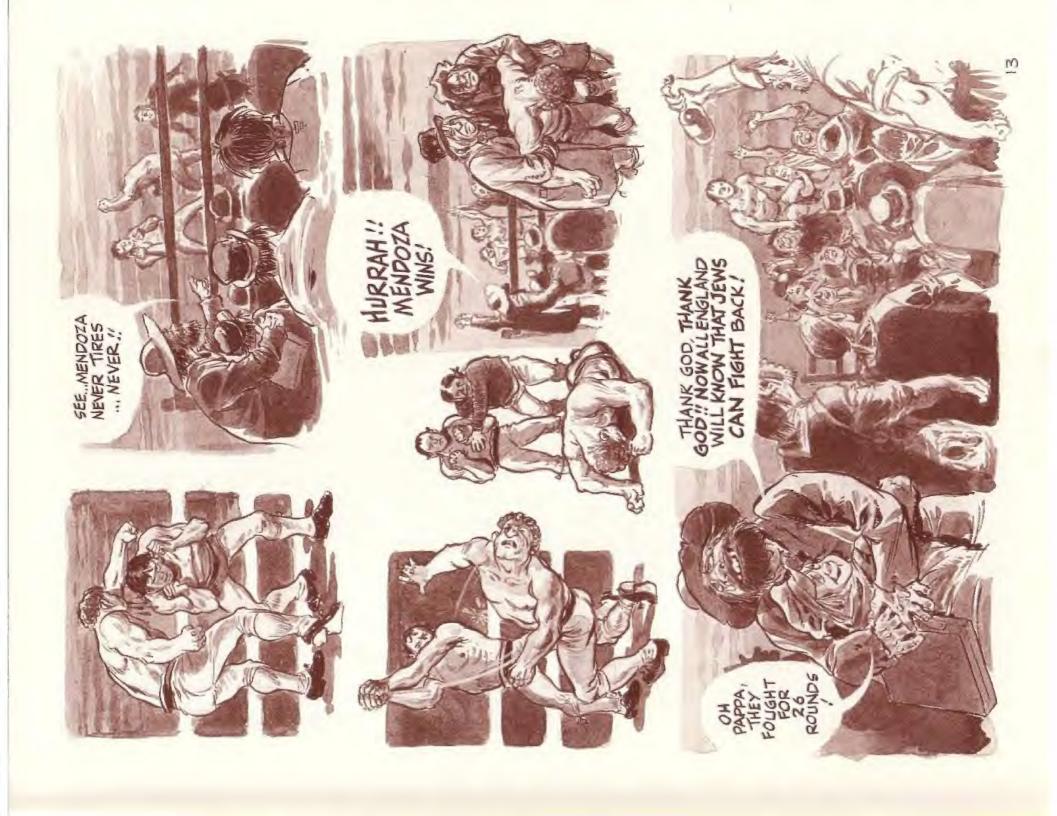
HERE WE SEE
THE MONTEFIORIS,
THE GREAT DACOSTA
AND D'ISRAEL! FAMILIES
THRIVING...EVEN LORD
GEORGE GORDON, A
PROTESTANT CONVERTED
AND BECAME A JEW!
...YES, THINGS ARE



Meanwhile, even as I began my young manhood, remained in the streets with my father.

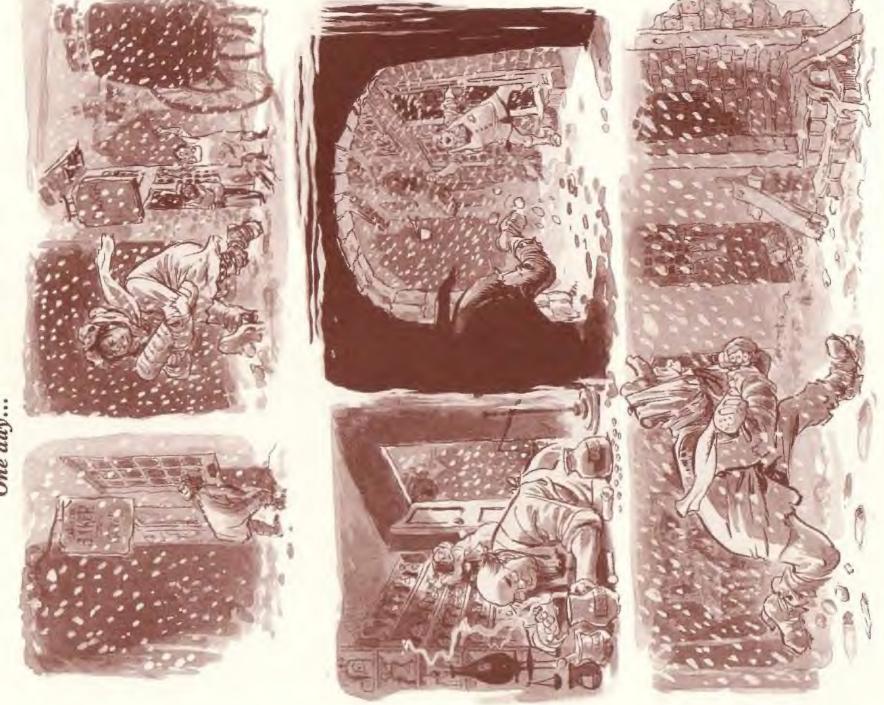








My father's death left me the sole support of my mother. One day...





As a houseboy in the Salomon household I could accompany very different side of Jewish life see a the master and



H. S. BUT A THIRD SON ... SO HE'LL NOT INHERIT THE FAMILY MONEY! OT VES ... TE WILL !! ABOYNE: WILL NEVER HANE ISABELLA! I'VE ARRANGED
THINGS WITH THE DUCHESS
OF NORTHUMBERLAND... YOU'LL
'MEET' LOCKHART GORDON!
... THE DUCHESS SEEKS
... THE DUCHESS SEEKS
SUITABLE MATCHES FOR
YOUNG NOBLEMEN, YOU
SEE, DEAR! 300



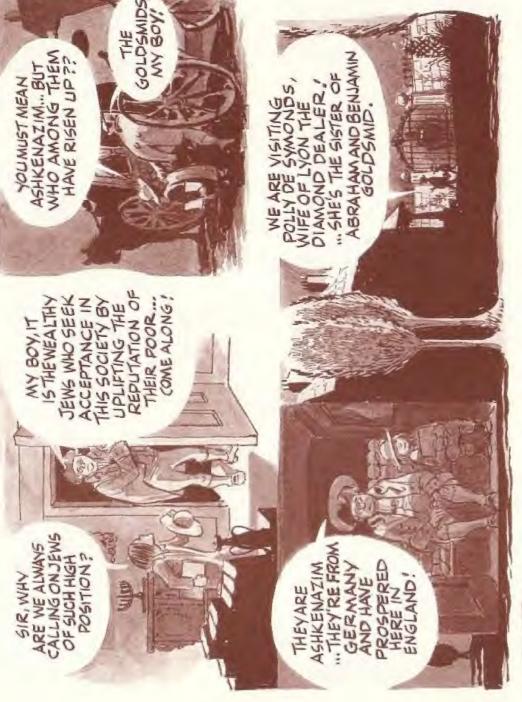
Jews in the London slums continued Salomon and his colleagues into stronger efforts to build ewish class prejudices, called on Mr. Isaac D'Israeli, a fund for the school. Mr. Salomon, at last undeterred by to soil the status of their betters. This only prodded Mr leader in the Sephardic community. The reputation of the



I learned how Jews succeeded in vising in this During the time I spent observing life in the Salomon household, world.



Jews of London by establishing a school to Mr. Salomon still pursued his search for funds to uplift educate young Ashkenazim and help them advance by ways other than crime. the lower-class



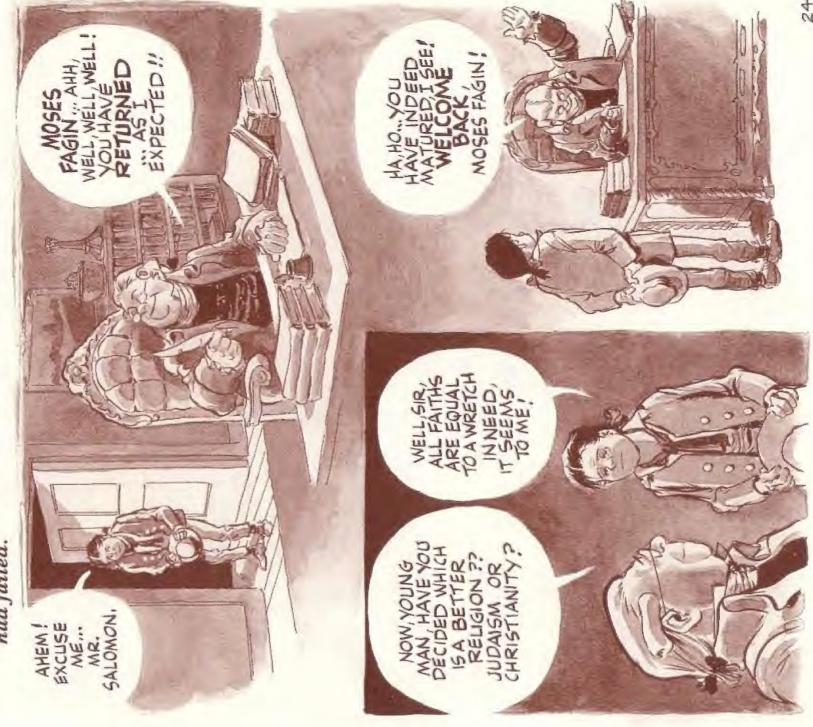








Christianizing of young Jews lay in failure. Mr. Frey an indiscreet affair with a Mrs. Josephson. All I had was reprimanded and reassigned by his backers for be of use to me later in life. But Christianizing me sewing, basket weaving, and repair, which would accumulated in my time there was some skill at One year later, Joseph Frey's school for the had failed.



still a servant in the Salomon ... a few years passed and I was in my Then one day seventeenth year, house. Well





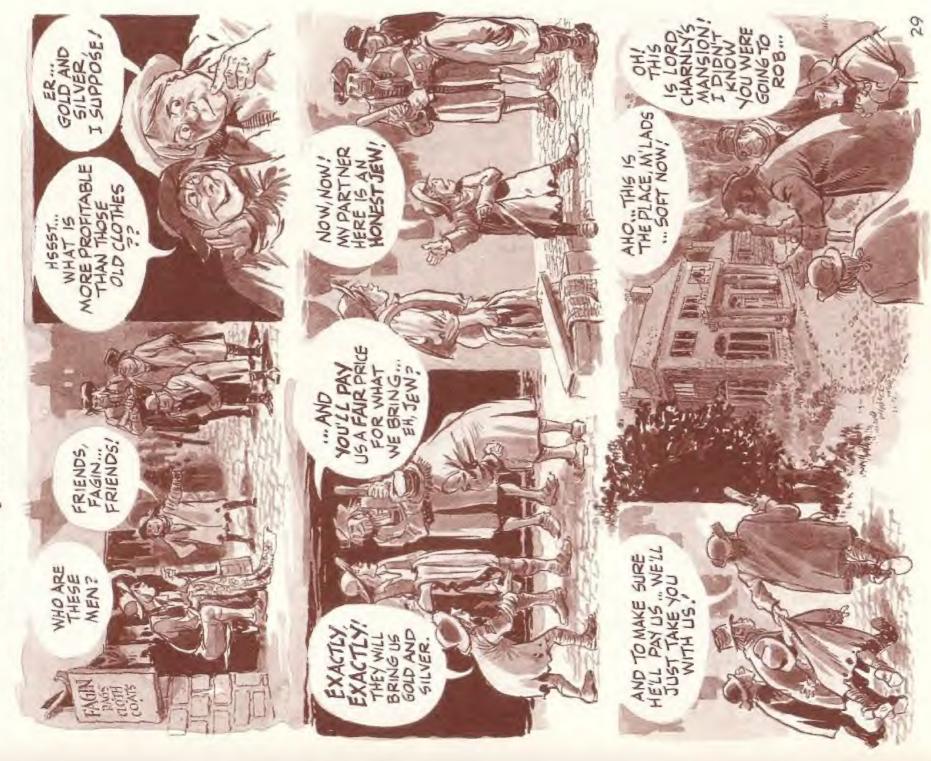
So began my short romance with Rebecca Lopez.

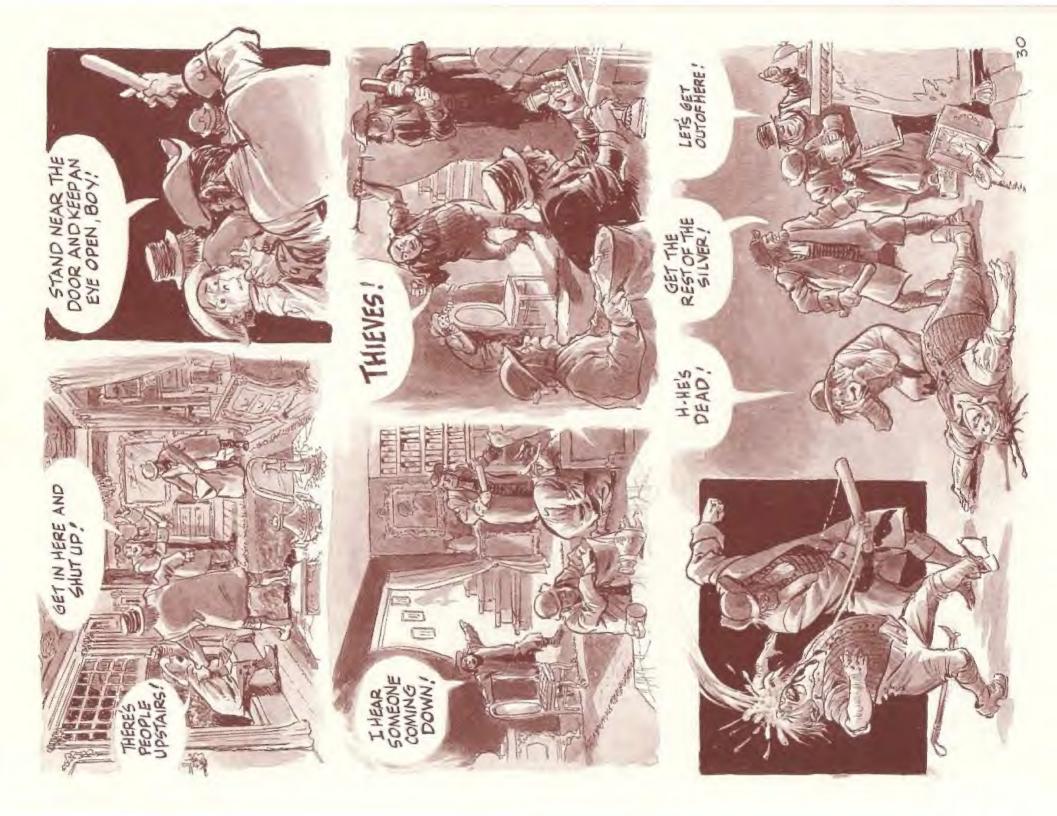


... as did my place in the school, and with it all hope for improvement in my station. With this turn of events began my return to the dregs of the streets of London. So it ended



Ah, how the business of survival does take perilous turns. Before long, I was more deeply involved in the trade of the streets than ever.









By now I had learned that in this trade, it was newly purchased treasures in a safe place. They would bring me a tidy profit. I could best not to ask questions. So I stored my sleep well





PEN YEARS

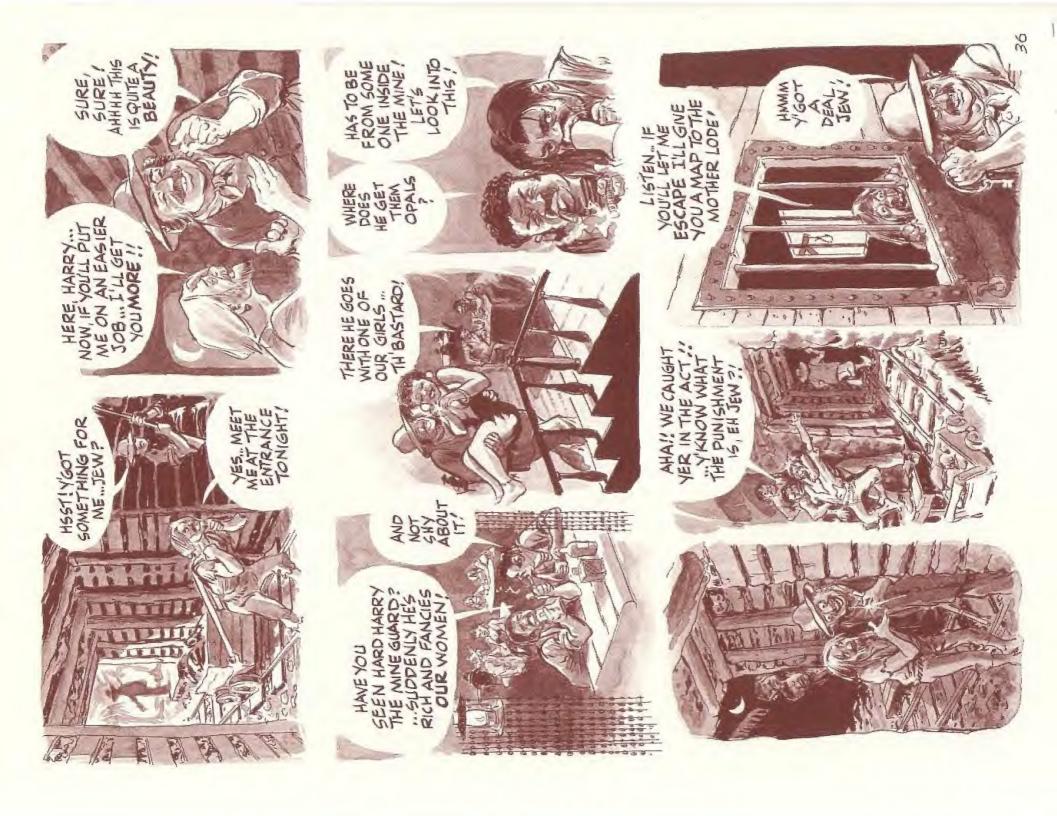
OF THESE MEN THAT YOU DID AGREE TO BUY

colonies, where convicts sentenced to transportation were It was the very next week that I was herded with other convicts on a ship bound for one of England's western to fulfill their sentences. There they were enslaved to colonists who bought their services from the Crown.



and for a year I was part of a gang clearing a swamp. There "bought" by a plantation owner, but was little to eat and hard work from dawn to dusk ... In the penal colony I was knew how to find food.







That night I escaped to the port.



Before long I improved my position and the shop's trade.



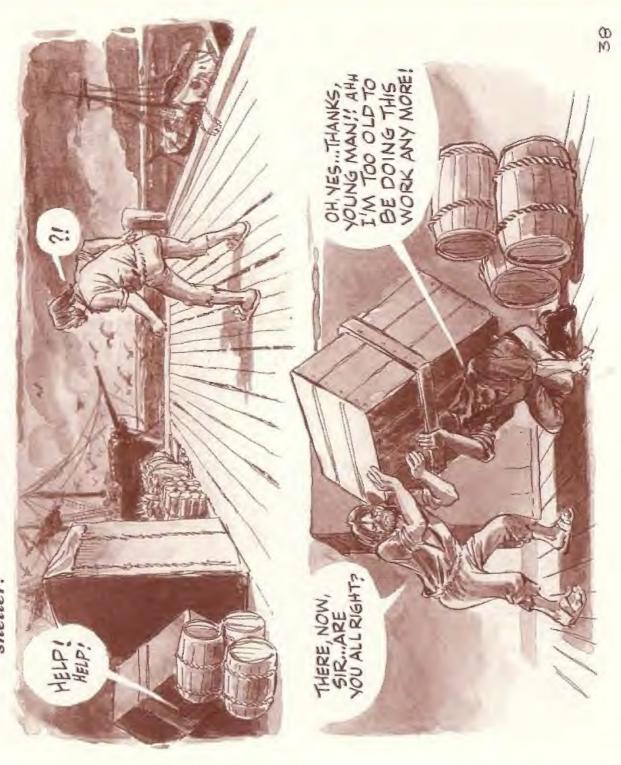
Y PRENT

EMP

37



Once again I was at liberty, actually a prisonerhoping for any opportunity that would give me at-large. To avoid arrest I kept to the docks shelter.





provided me with a safe haven. Meanwhile, my anger over the betrayal at McNab kept boiling inside me, and before fair and kind, and he long I devised a plan to avenge myself. Mr. Dawson was a good man, j





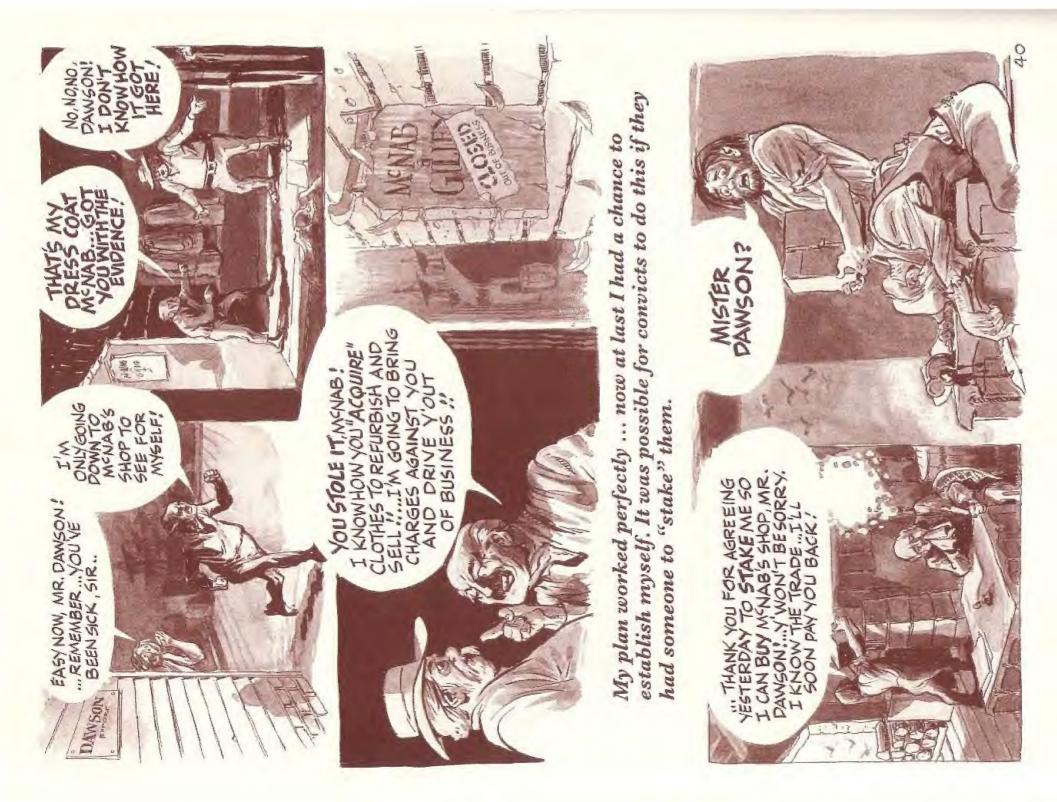


COLD YOU HOW LIKE IT HANGING AT MCNABIS STRANGE

FAGIN

JERE.

ITS GONE





MAY JOB IS TO CLOSE DOWN WHAT IS LEFT OF HIS BUSINESS HERE!



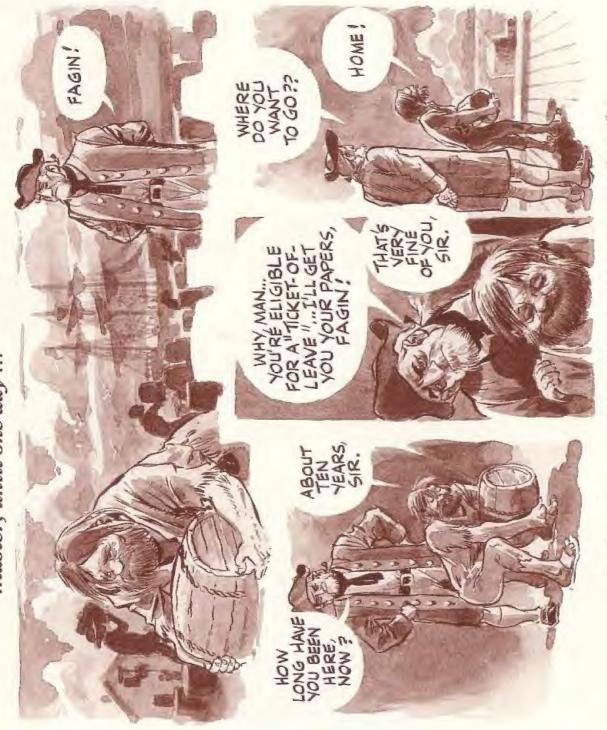
SIR, HE PROMISED

WITH WHAT?
THE OLD MAN
WAS IN DEBT !!
"... HE HAD
NOTHING TO
LEAVE YOU!





sentence, a slave indentured to an honest harbor So I remained there, working out the rest of my master, until one day



And so it was within the month I returned to the world I really understood ... London.



When at last I returned to London, I was aged beyond my years. Broken in body, in fragile health, I was in appearance a shuffling greybeard, the result of the horrors of penal life and imprisonment.



Sharper than ever were my skills, which However, I still had my wits about me. were honed in the penal colonies.

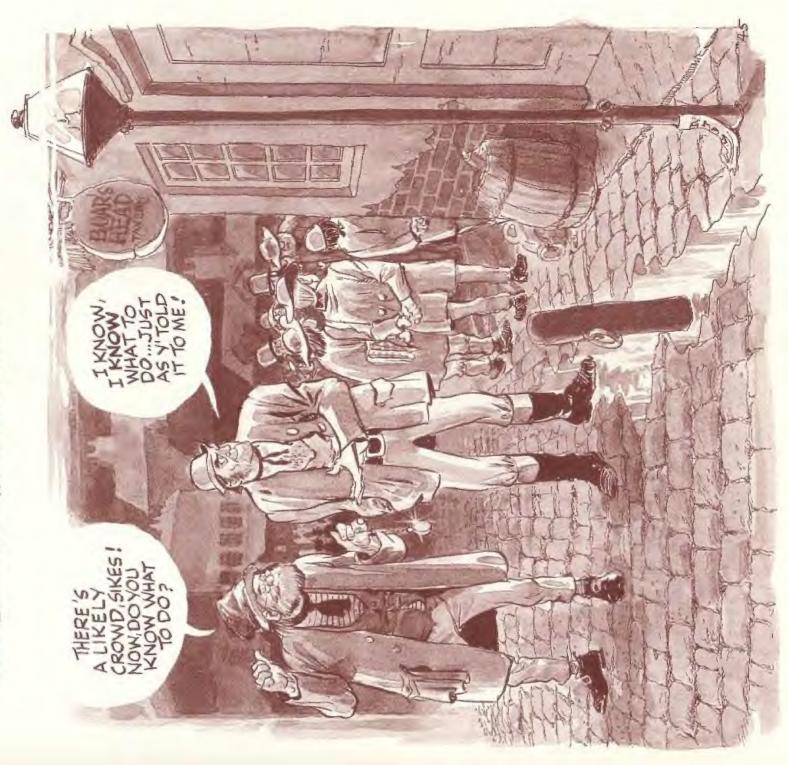
THOE!



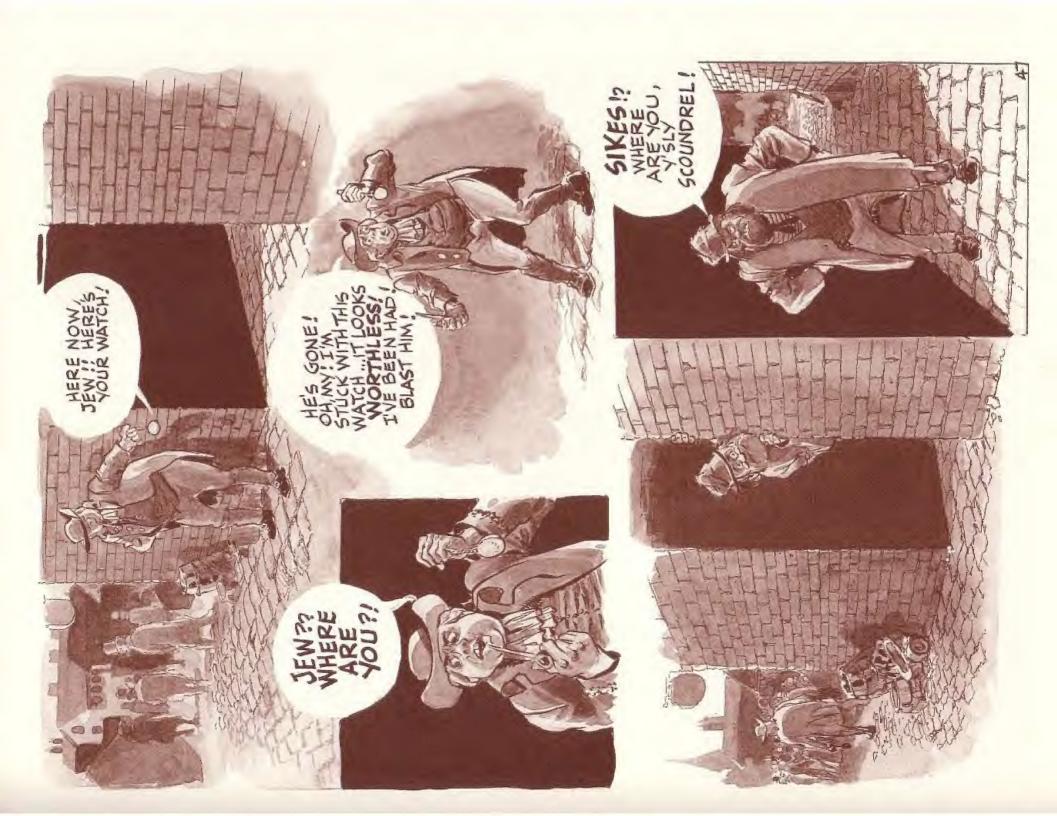


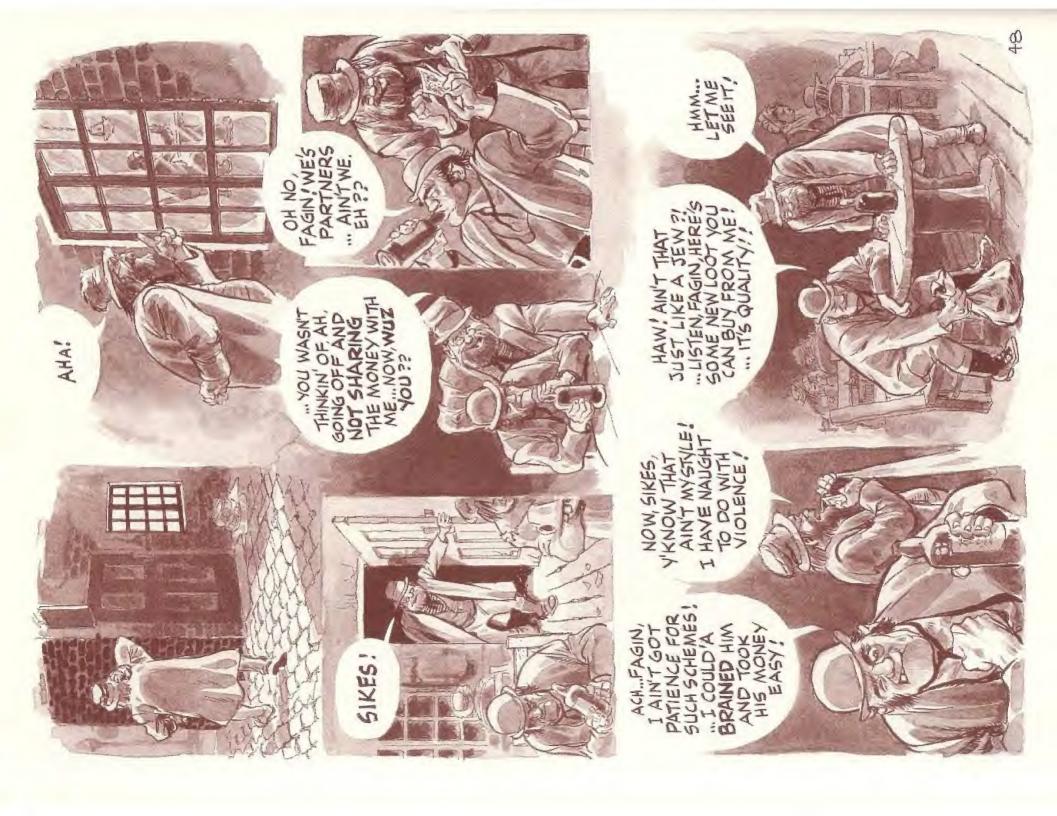


hope of a grand future. I was what the urchins who worked In London, I had finally established myself. I was no longer naive; gone was the promise that fueled my for me would one day become. Who knows, were I not a Jew ... had I not lost opportunities or suffered the misfortune of imprisonment or had I been able to knot of people in a London street operating a street game with stay in Mr. Salomon's employ, I might not be standing in a a new partner, a ruffian named Sikes.











what I might have been, had Mr. Lopez not thrown 'ew moments I mourned over what my life ... I returned the loot to Mr. Salomon's home, where me out of that school so many years ago. foraf



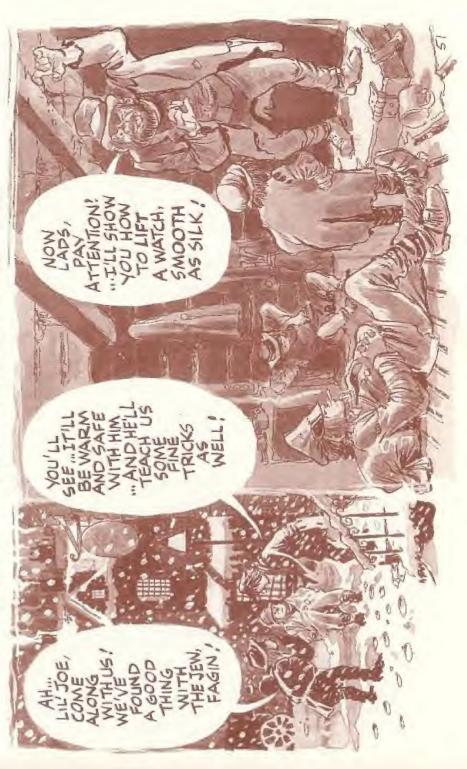
The following years were spent at the only trade I knew buying and selling whatever came to hand. I became a haven for the ragged urchins of the street.



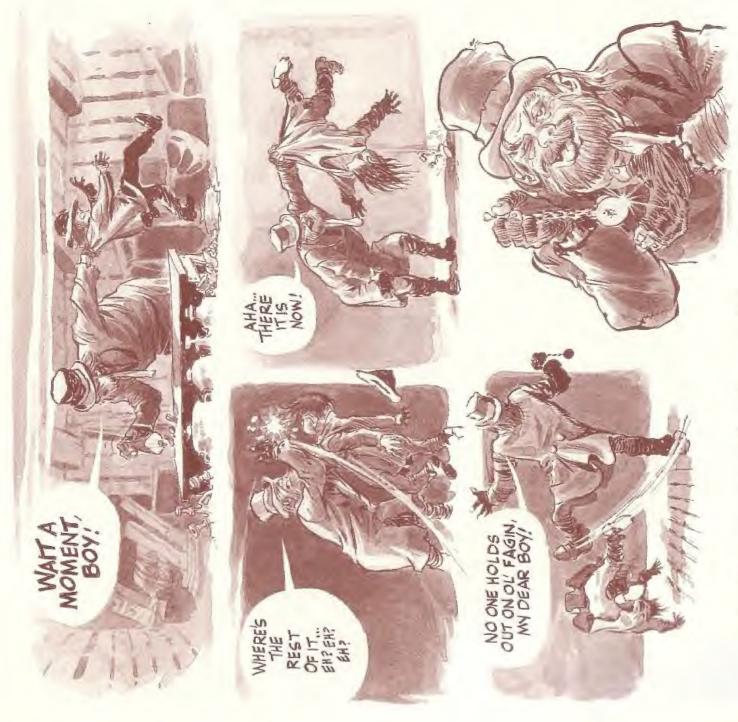
soon spread. I became known as a teacher of And my reputation among the little derelicts street arts



Soon my dwelling, such as it was, filled with adept ragamuffins who provided me with an ample source of merchandise I could resell



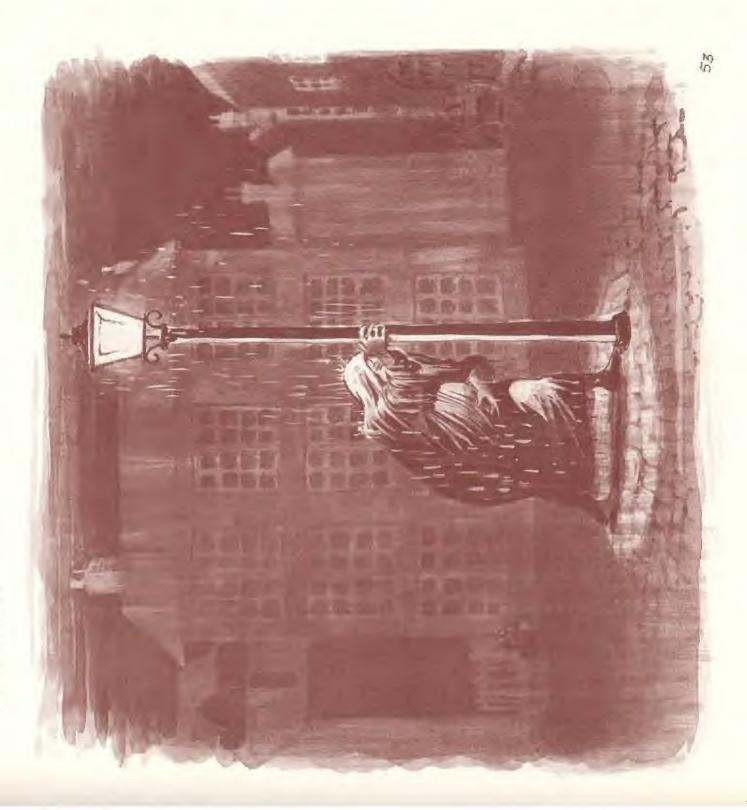
I bought and sold what I could from whatever my boys brought me.
Ah, but they required a bit of discipline.

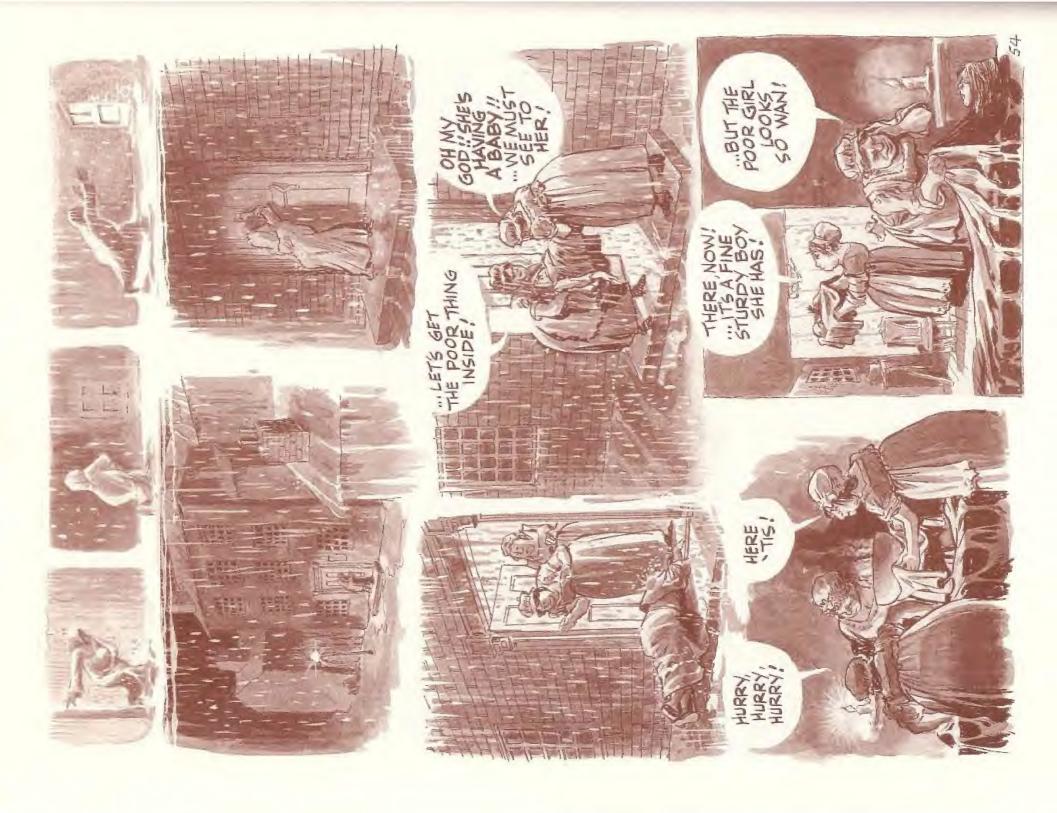


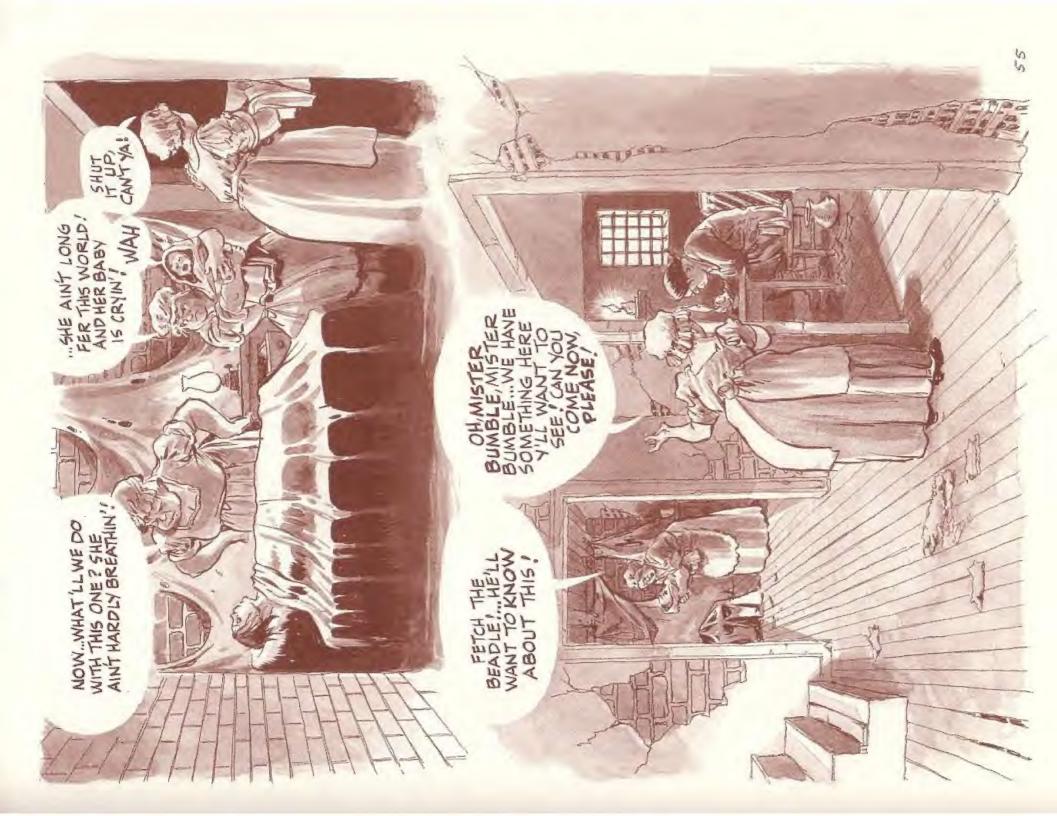
I kept myself and my boys from the bitter So the years went by. I never did prosper, grimy life on the streets of London. Still, nor was I able to advance beyond the refuge of workhouses.

deduction. The boy was born out of grim circumstances not with him at Sowerberry's. The rest came from hearsay and of his origin from young Claypole, who was once employed recruited by one of my steady boys. Years later, I learned It was in one of these houses of questionable charity that chapter of my life. He joined my "family" as usual, fate delivered a young companion for me in the last unusual for our society.

appeared at the doorstep of one of these poorly maintained It was ten years ago. Late one evening a young woman workhouses.











Growing up in a workhouse, as you may have heard, is not In these places, largesse or charity is doled out with I know well enough what Oliver's rom the money they receive out of its a cruel economy by the people who operate them, was like there, and what he had to endure management, 0h, seek to profit





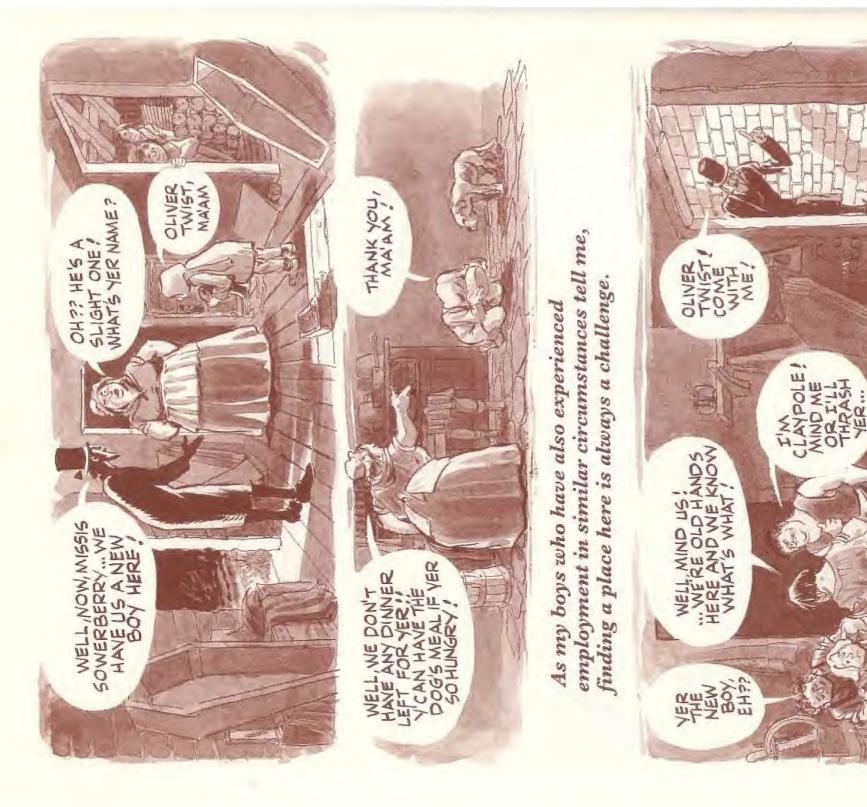


The next day the trustees met again. It was their duty as custodians of this charitable institution to sit in judgment on all matters of discipline.



So Mr. Bumble undertook this task of finding a suitable apprenticeship for Oliver.

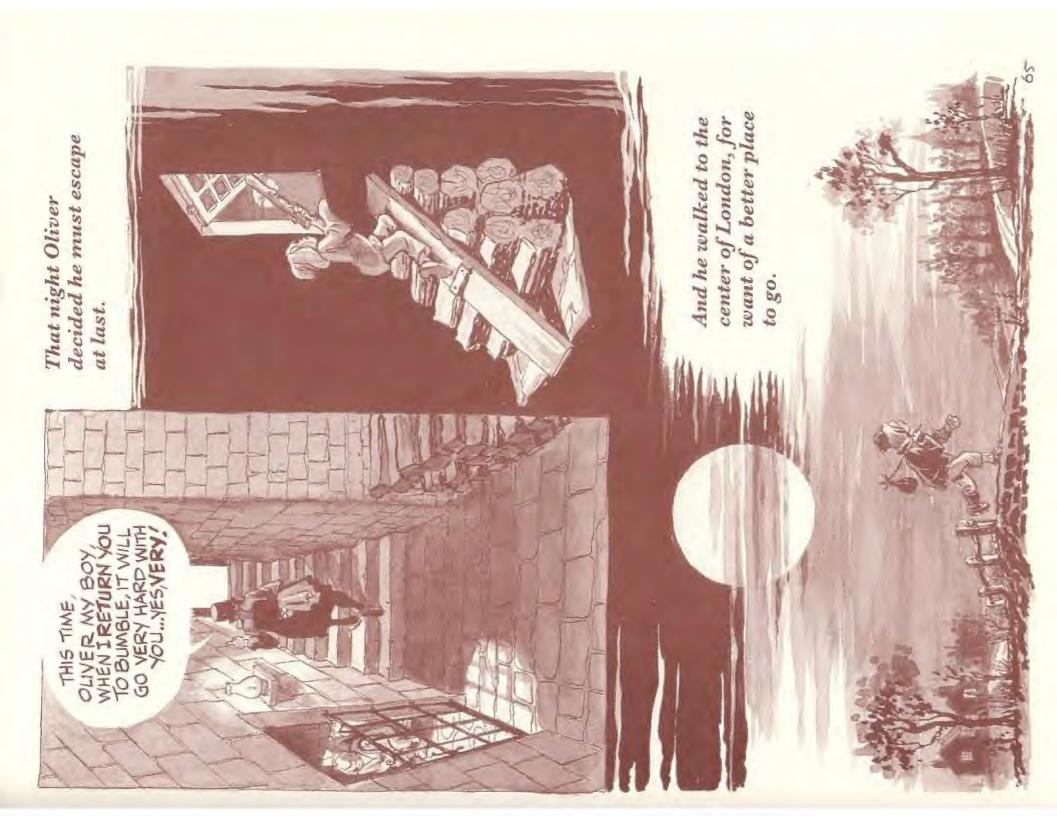




A rise in position in such a place is a splendid opportunity, as I can tell you.



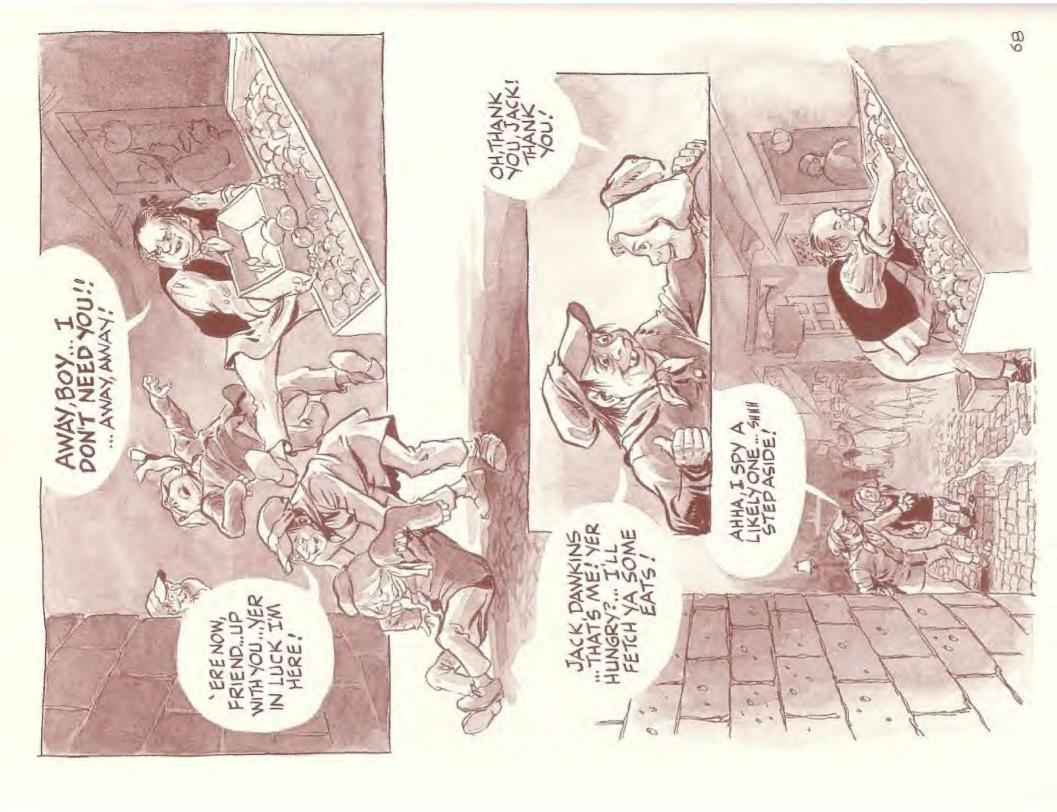




were taking a troubling turn and I had a meeting So began my relationship with a child of destiny, defined my own encounter with fate. My affairs as they say... and with it the circumstances that with my best boy, Jack Dawkins.



And as fate would have it, that was the very day young Oliver arrived in London. MORNING TO YOU, SIR... I'LL WORK FOR FOOD... PLEASE?





Ah, well do I remember him ... clearly a lad of quality rare indeed in those days, I can assure you.

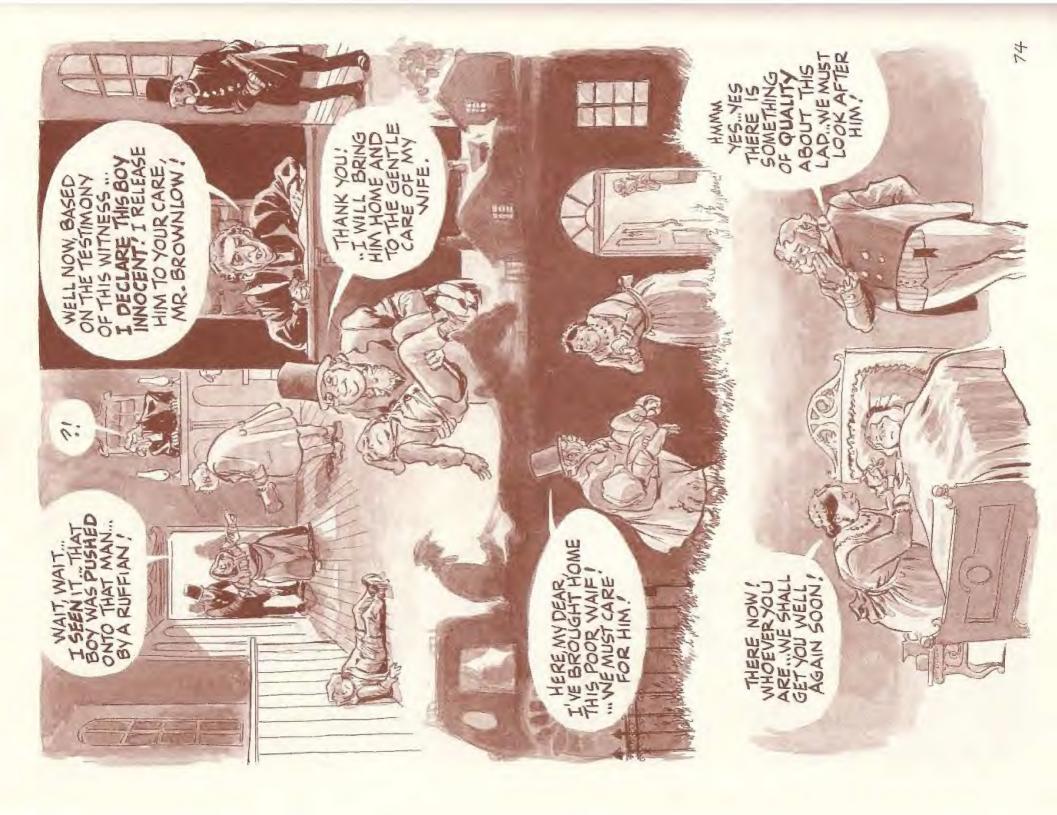




STOP, THIEF!! Dodger.

week he was working the street with the Artful Well, Oliver was recruited ... oh yes! In just a





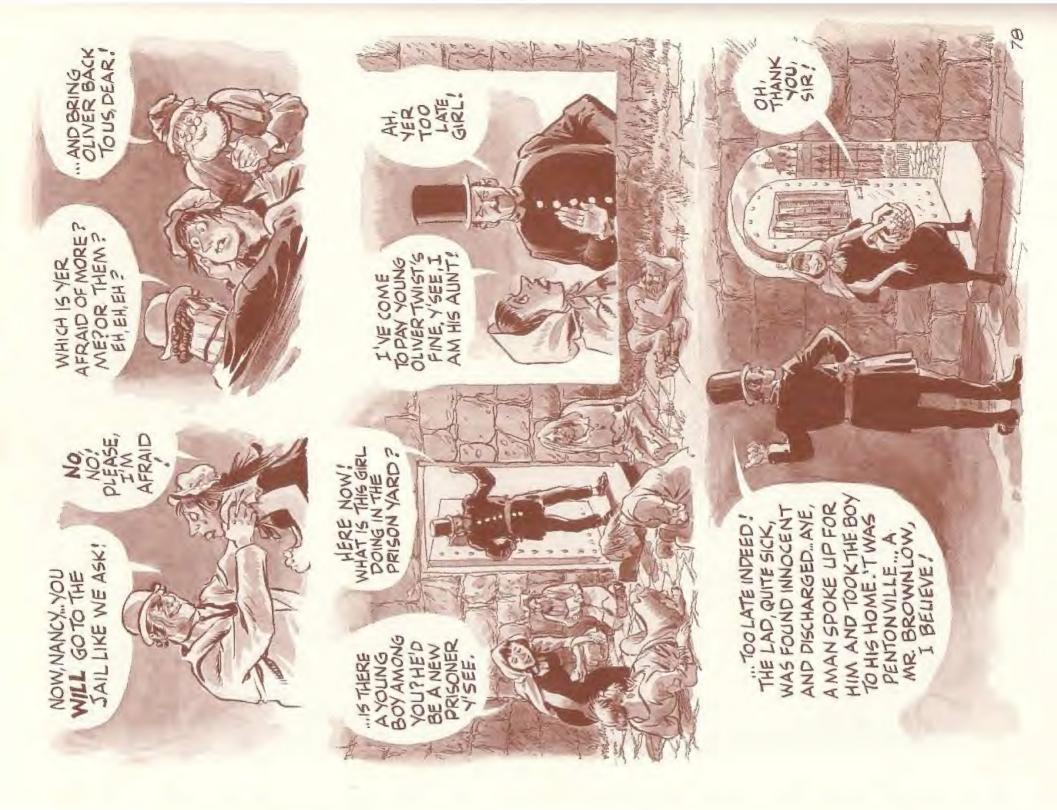
Brownlows, quite safe. Then my partner, Sikes, I knew not where returned. He was always in fear of betrayal. until later, when I found out he was at the Oliver was out of our hands.





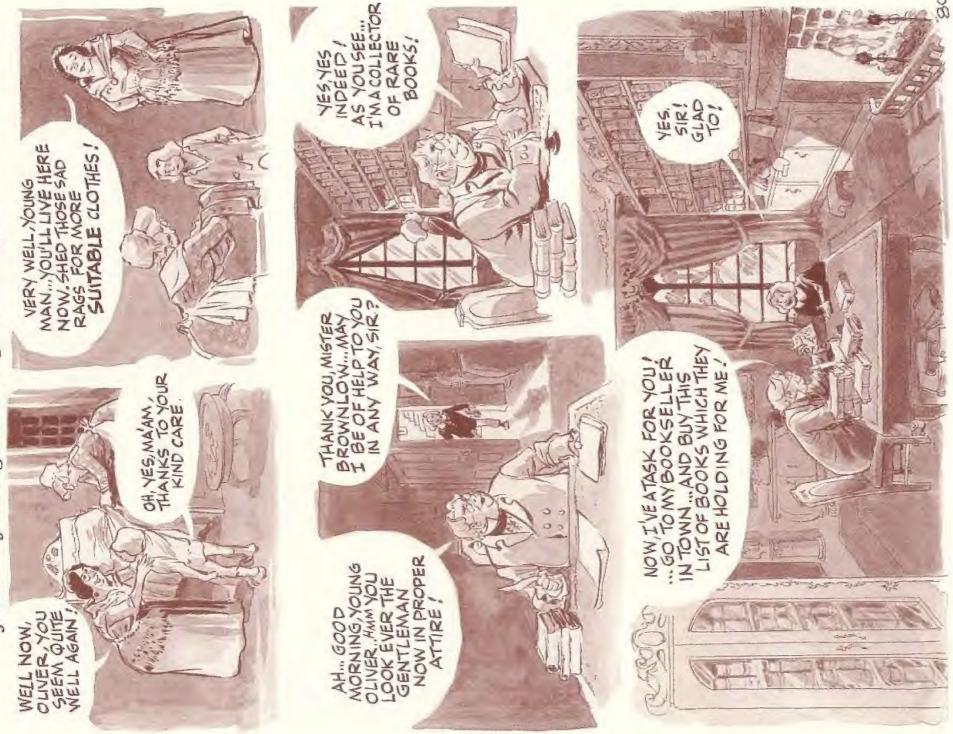








At the Brownlows' home, Oliver soon recovered from his fainting in the magistrate's office.



In London's streets, Sikes and my boys were persistently searching for Oliver.









Things was going very well again for me ... until Sikes showed up.



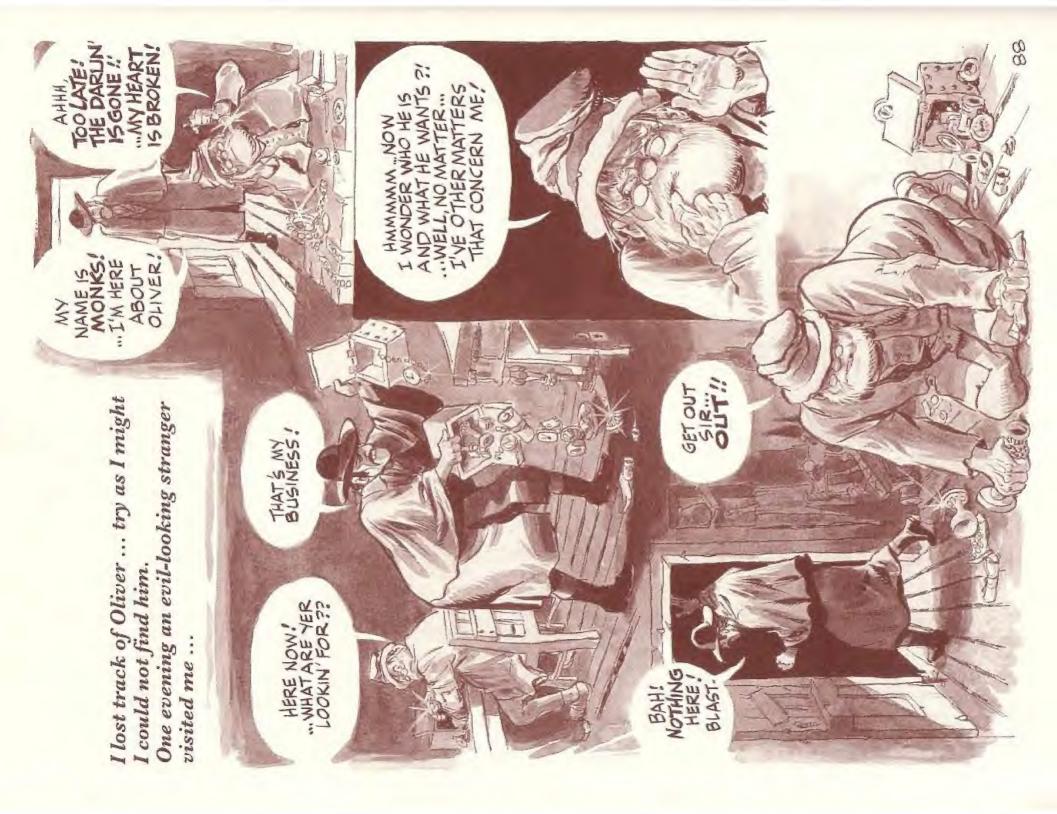












frequented by the beadle who was at the workhouse where Later I learned that Monks made his way to a tavern Oliver was born.





The next day I had another visit from Monks.





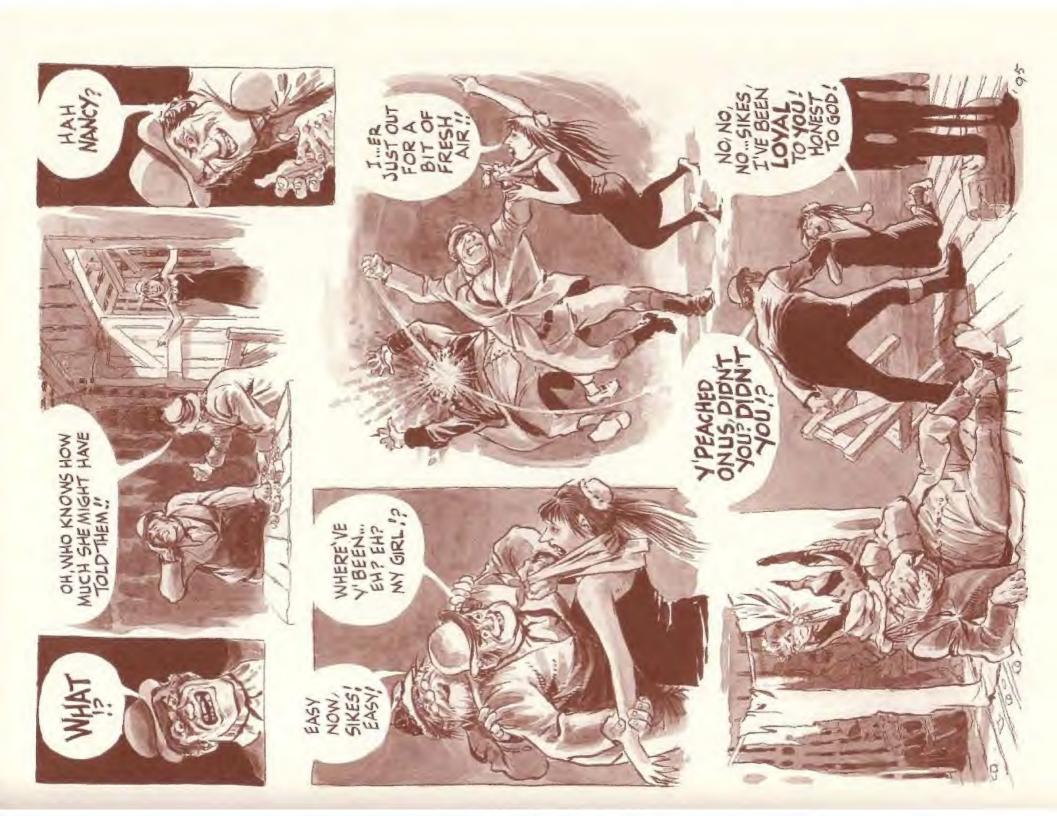


learned from Sikes' boasting where they were sheltering Nancy ran off to the Maylie family. I reckon that she Oliver.

It was not hard to guess that Nancy told the Maylies what she overheard.















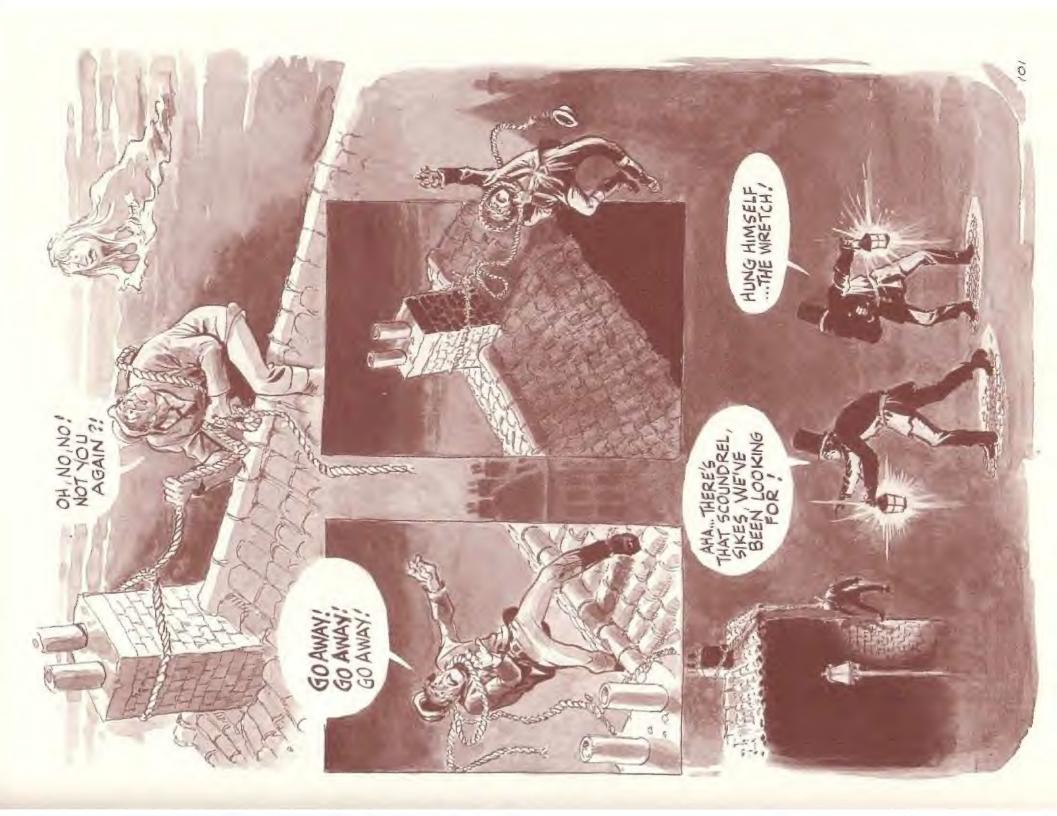
Oh, I ran...on tired legs...but not quick enough...



now haunted by a ghost ... the alleys ...







With Sikes dead there was no one to testify to my innocence. Well, I was locked up in Newgate Prison, where I was tried and sentenced in short order.



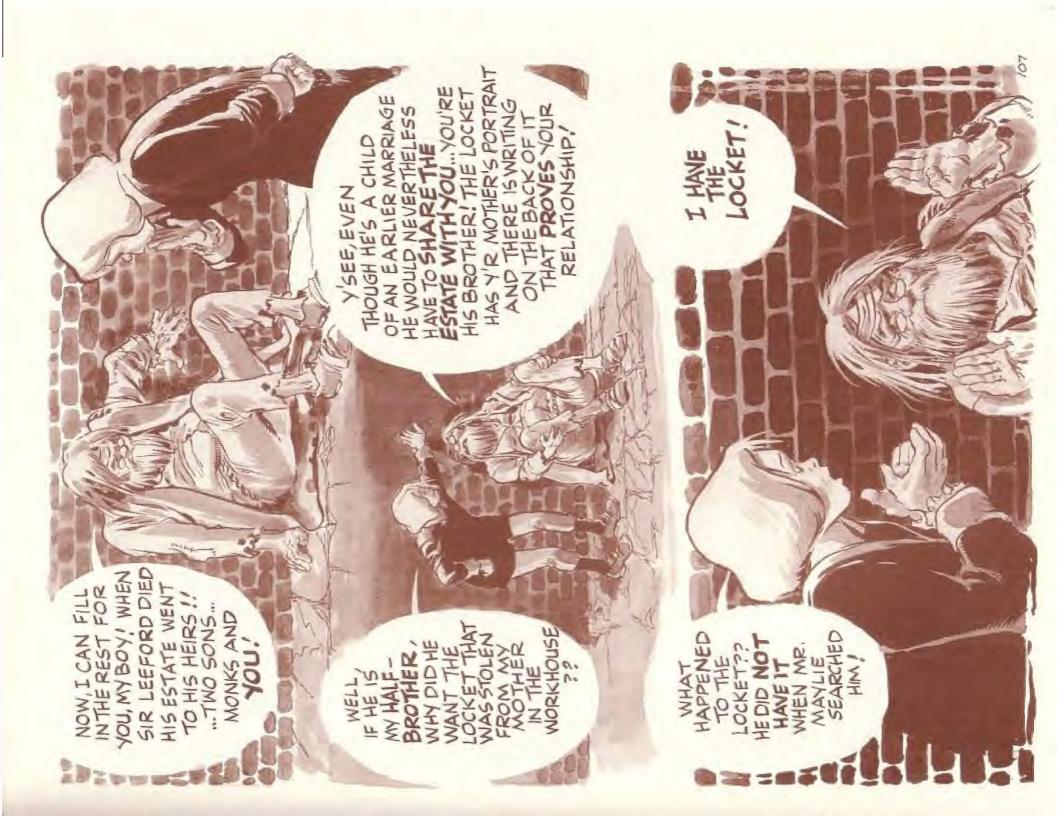
to visit me here. His visit added to my comfort and helped benefactor and patron Mr. Brownlow, Oliver was allowed I lay in my cell exhausted from writhing and flailing against my sorry fate... Aided by his influential new me endure the agony of an undeserved fate.



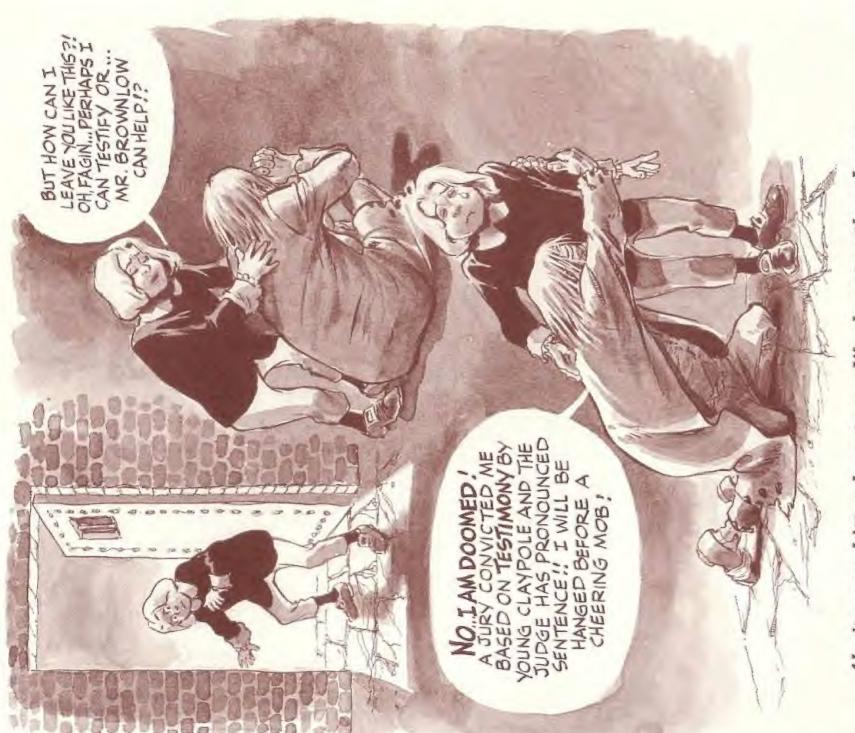


MONKS' ROOMS TIME, FOR HE WAS ABOUT TO RUN ANAY! MAYLIE AND MR. BROWNLOW RAN TO MAS QUICK AND AND BROUGHT MONKS

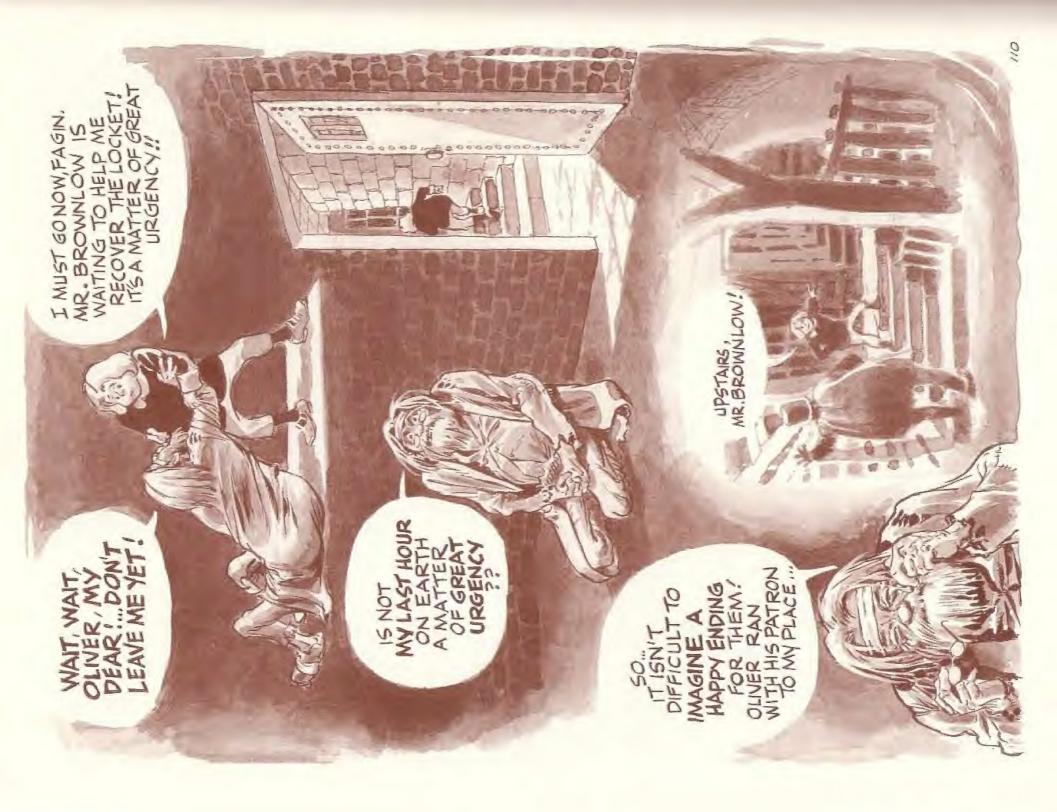


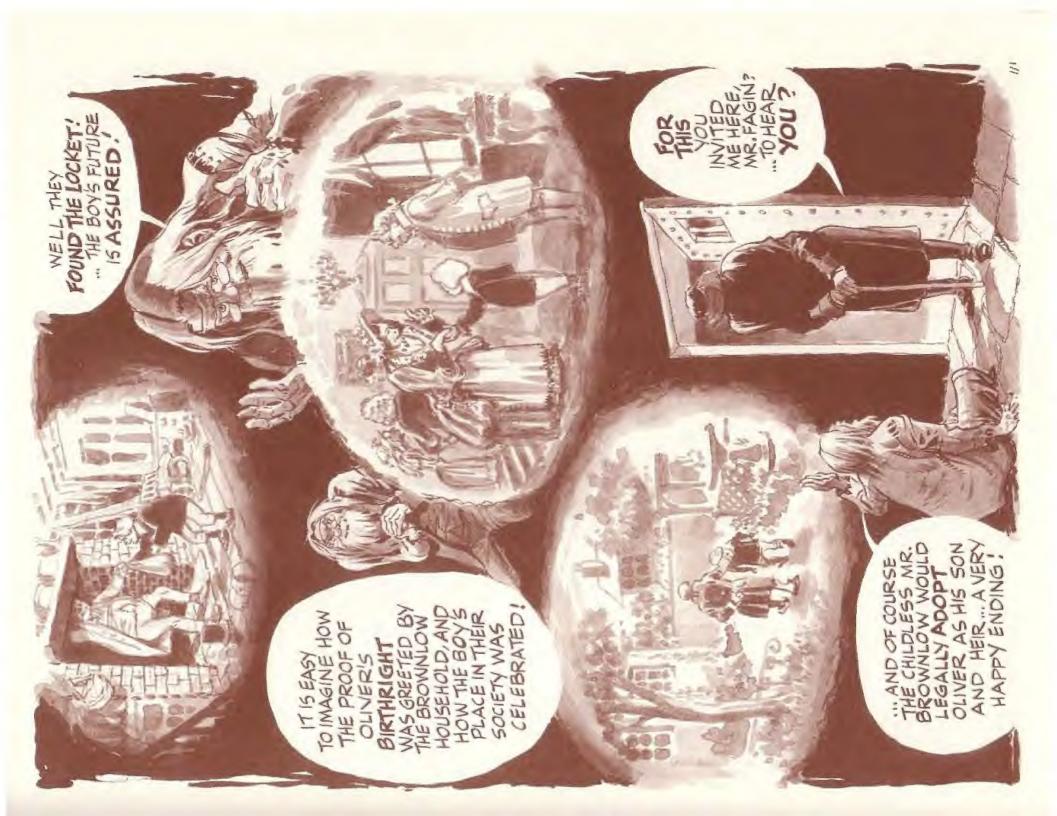






Finally the boy gathered control of his emotions enough so yet to separate from an attachment, drowning man who holds on to a floating log, and Oliver I as a the memory of which will forever remain with him. Ah, it was a bitter departure... We clung together, as a mourner unable he could disengage.









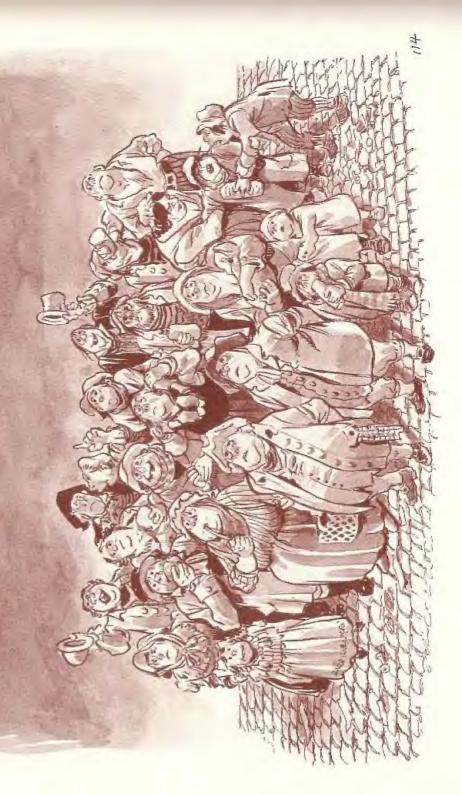


TILTREAT GOOD BYF FAGIN BRIOH VOUR RACE





EXCUSE N



in a pauper's grave, together with others that Fagin was hanged and buried ignominiously fate had demeaned.

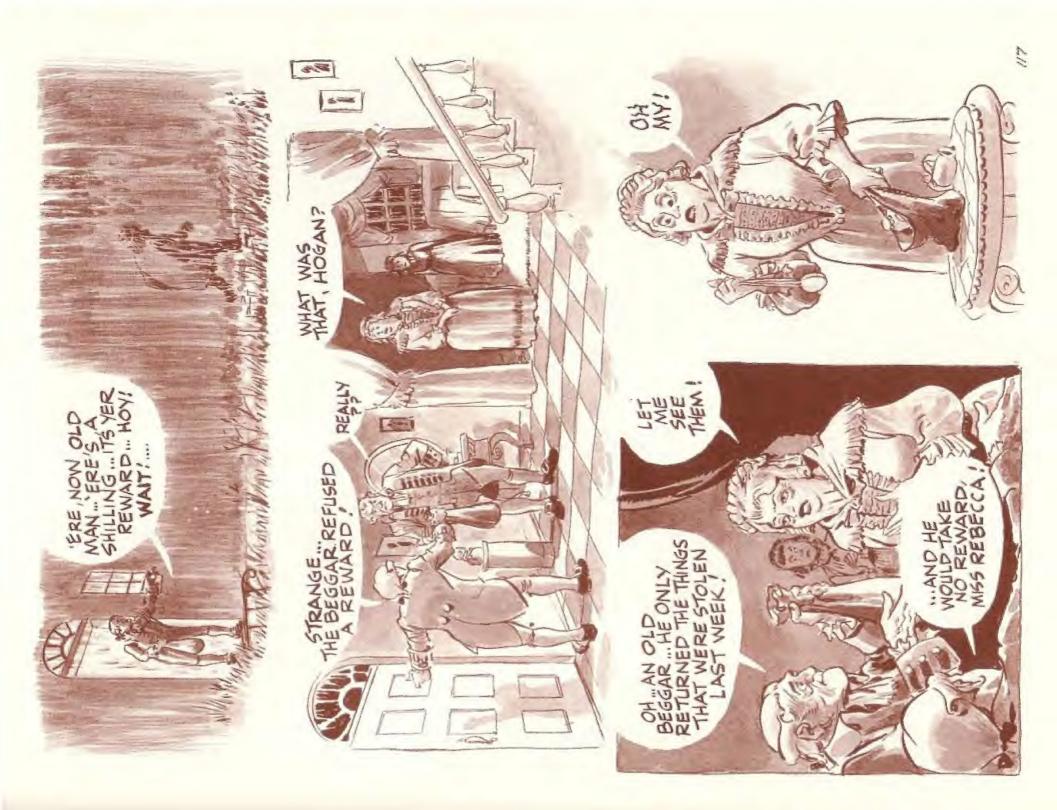


turning point in Fagin's life and his legacy. Mr. Brownlow. He became a successful barrister who at last found out about a The young lad Oliver was adopted by

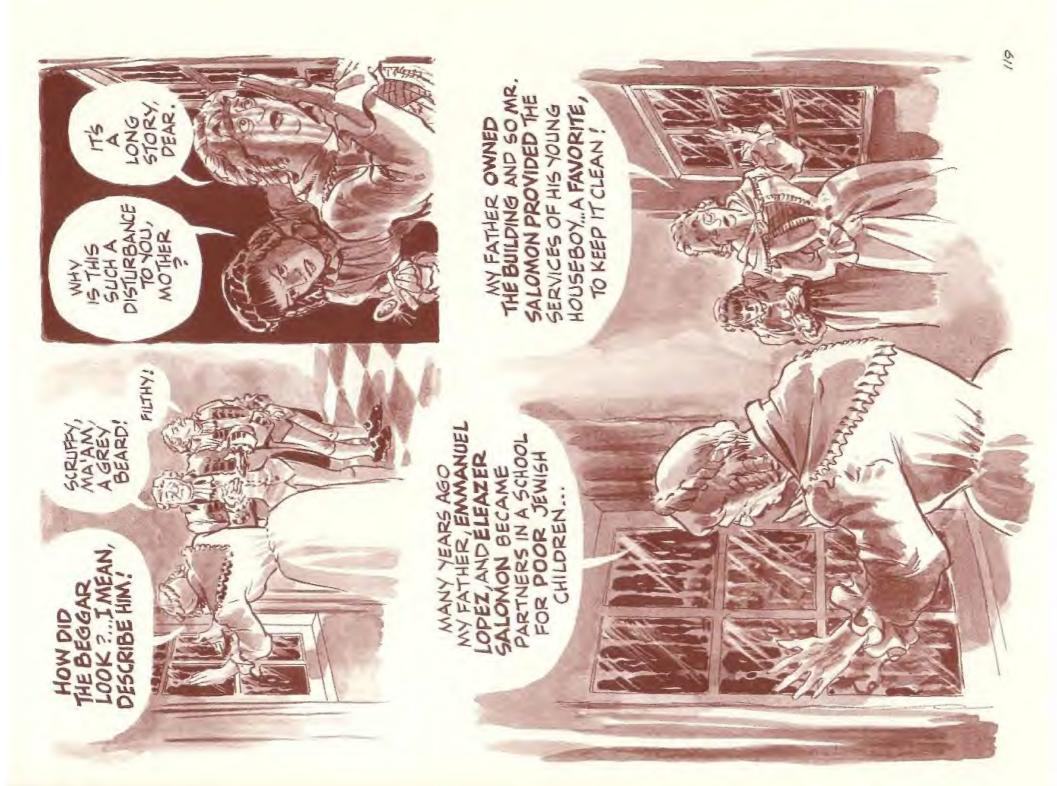
OF HIS JEWISH SCHOOL WHO THREW FAGIN OUT TO MY RELIGION AND CONCERN HERSELF WITH THE GREAT GRAND DAUGHTER OF LOVE FOR ME, DID TOCONVERT STORY OF MY LIFE, YES ... MY WIFE, OUT MAD THE GOOD LUCK ADELE, BROWNLOW! LONG AGO I I AM OLIVER OF EMMANUEL AGREE











WHAT HAPPENED TO FAE BOY? OUT INTO THE STREET! PAREN FIE YOUNG MAN CAUGHT USKISSING "ENRAGED BY SUCH FORWARDNESS, HE ONE DAY MY FAFFER NO ONE KNEW... HE

SLUMS OF LONDON!

MR. SALOMON WAS HEARTBROKEN ... YOU SEE, HE WAS 1 OF TEN VISITED THE SCHOOL, WHERE I MET THE YOUNG HOUSEBOY... WE FELLIN LOVE!... WE WERE SO YOUNG WE CARED NOTHING ABOUT CLASS OR PLACE

MAN AS A DAUGHTER MIGHT! APTER THE GRIEVING OLD SALOMON DIED AN HEIR TO HIS GREAT WEALTH トロロエコミ " FINALLY

AND THOUGHT

BACHELOR A

1

BOY AS HIS SON!

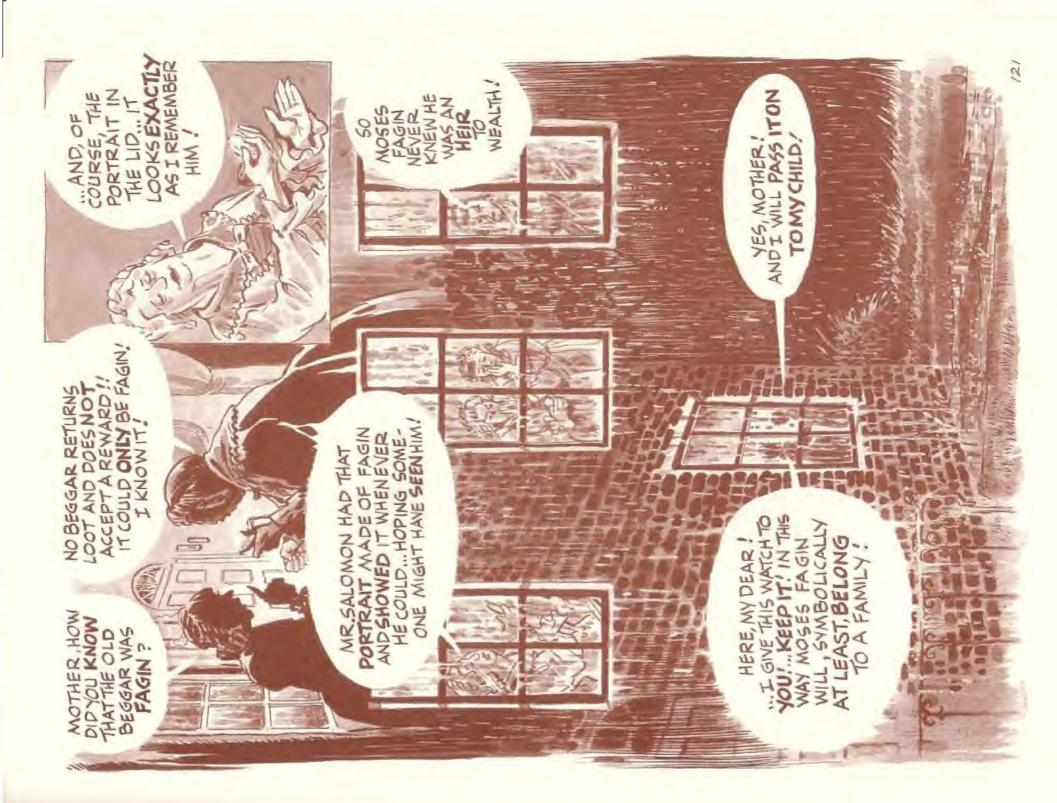
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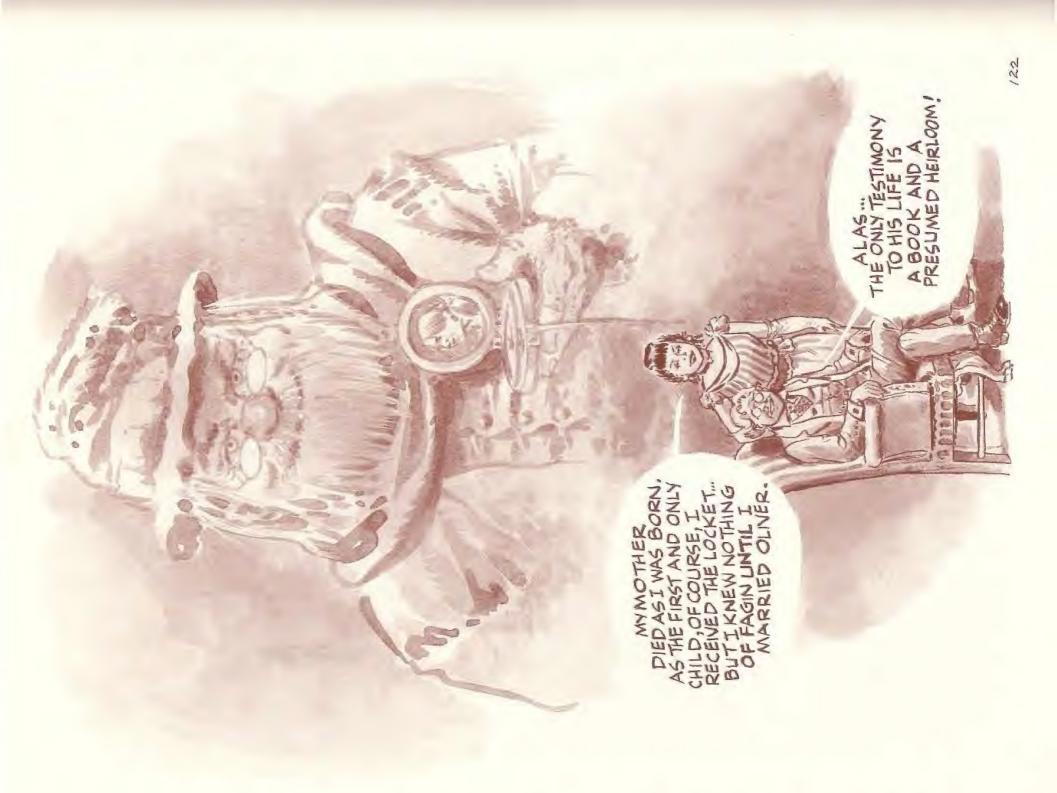
NANE BOY's

NAN 一工

> HIS NAME WAS MOSES, MOSES FAGIN

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Afterword

Throughout history, certain fictional characters in our literature have achieved an illusion of reality due to their popularity. In the main, they became enduring stereotypes and influenced social judgment. Shylock the Jew and Sherlock Holmes the detective are classic examples.

Fagin, created by Charles Dickens in Oliver Twist, ultimately became one such popular culture and prejudice. In truth, the author never intended to defame the Jewish people, but by referring to Fagin as "the Jew" throughout the book he abetted the prejudice against them. Over the years, Oliver Twist became a staple of juvenile literature, and the stereotype was perpetuated.

Despite his treatment of Fagin, Charles Dickens maintained that he was not an anti-Semite. He did use anti-Jewish epithets and offhand remarks in his letters and conversation, which were common in the language of the era. Dickens once referred to Richard Benteley, his (Gentile) English publisher, as

"a thundering old Jew." However, in books such as A Child's History of England, he deems "cruel and inexcusable" the persecution and expulsion of Jews by Edward I in 1290. Later, he condemned the well-known Thomas Carlyle's aversion to Jews. In a speech to the Westminster Jewish Free School in 1854, Dickens proclaimed, "I do my part in the assertion of their [Jews'] civil rights. . . . I have expressed strong abhorrence of their persecution in old time."

The following segments from Dickens's foreword to the third edition of *Oliver Twist* in 1841 indicate his intentions by explaining his use of Fagin for the role and by implication justifying his use of the label "Jew" to describe him.

The greater part of this tale was originally published in a magazine. When I completed it and put it forth in its present form three years ago, I fully expected it would be objected to on some very high moral grounds in some very high moral quarters.

The result did not fail to prove the justice of my anticipations.

It is, it seems, a very coarse and shocking circumstance, that some of the characters in these pages are chosen from the most criminal and degraded of London's population; that Sikes is a thief and Fagin a receiver of stolen goods; that the boys are pick-pockets and the girl is a prostitute.

It appeared to me that to draw a knot of such associates in crime as really do exist; to paint them in all their wretchedness, in all them as they really are, forever skulking uneasily through the dirtiest paths of life, with the great, black, ghastly gallows closing up their prospects, turn them where they may; it appeared to me that to do this, would be to attempt something which was greatly needed and which would be a service to society. And therefore I did it as best I could.

Further, after receiving a letter of complaint from Mrs. Eliza Davis, the wife of a Jewish banker, about twenty years later, Dickens tried to eliminate most of the frequent references to Fagin as a Jew in an 1867 edition of Oliver Twist. This, however, was too late, for the earlier and well-distributed popular editions still in use today contain the earlier version that uses "Jew" to refer to Fagin.

Nonetheless, I believe that Dickens's stated intention to describe the conditions of the time places the burden of reportorial accuracy upon him. It has always troubled me that Fagin "the Jew" never got fair treatment, and I challenge Charles Dickens and his illustrator, George Cruikshank, for their

description and delineation of Fagin as a classic stereotypical Jew. I believe this depiction was based on ill-considered evidence, imitation, and popular ignorance. Cartoonists certainly understand how easy it is to rely on a common image in the visual language to portray a character, but like the mistakes of illustrators before him, Cruikshank's misuse of a necessary staple in portraying Fagin, one that was so common to contemporary publications, is a contribution to further reprehensible stereotyping of Jews by bigots throughout history.

the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim. The also fled Spain but had sought refuge in Holland. The growth of a lively trade The Jewish community of London around 1800 consisted of two main groups, Sephardim originally came from Portugal and Spain to settle in England after fleeing the Spanish Inquisition. Because they were mostly educated, they were able to achieve an acceptable position in the English community. England was attractive to Jews because it was then one of the more liberal societies, with some religious tolerance and an accessible legal system. The Sephardim assimilated easily and for the most part became professionals, tradesmen, and financiers. Their numbers increased over the years with the arrival of others who had between London and Amsterdam led to an increase in Jewish immigration.

Until about 1700, the Sephardim were the dominant Jewish population in England, but the "lower class" who arrived during the eighteenth century were mostly Ashkenazim. They came from Germany and

Middle Europe, where they had lived in small villages until driven out by intolerance, repression, and pogroms. Rural life and peasant culture had rendered them less educated and cruder in their ways. As a result, when they arrived in London they had difficulty assimilating. Like all new, poor immigrant arrivals throughout history, they clung to old ghetto habits and social behavior. Impoverished and illiterate, they took up marginal occupations in the grim-ier quarters of London. It is reasonable to assume that Fagin came from such origins.

pogroms. However, the popular illustrations In my opinion, the limning of Jews by illustrators of Dickens's time was most likely inaccurate with regard to Fagin's appearance. Because of their Eastern European origins, Ashkenazic Jews likely had features that had come to resemble the German physiognomy. There were many blond Jews, as a result of rapes that occurred during of Jews, including Cruikshank's, were based on the appearance of the Sephardim, whose features when they arrived were sharper, with dark hair and complexions, the result of their four-hundred-year sojourn among the Latin and Mediterranean peoples. The careless disregard of this demography and its impact on cultural acceptance made it necessary to reintroduce Fagin at long last.

The lithograph prints and etchings that were popular in England in the eighteenth century provided the public with satirical commentary on social life of the day. They were sold, sometimes even by Jewish peddlers, on the streets of English cities, in

print shops, and in book stalls. These were generally collected in albums or hung in dens, libraries, or workplaces.

In Charles Dickens's time, the most popular creators of these prints included Thomas Rowlandson, Henry Wigstead, George Woodward, Isaac Cruikshank (father of George Cruikshank, who illustrated Oliver Twist), and James Gilray. Like the great English artist Hogarth before them, they enjoyed considerable professional stature and popular fame. It was their delineations that contributed to the perpetuation of the negative stereotype of Jews and that provide a record of the public perceptions of that time.

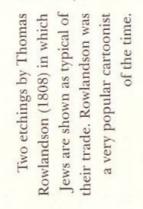
genre of illustration and cartoon and family publications that catered to the public taste. Because of this country's large immigrant population the ethnic caricatures The influential political drawings by Thomas Nast and fellow political cartoonists that In America during the twentieth century, appeared in newspapers, humor magazines, were less vitriolic but persisted nevertheless. dwelt on the stereotypes of corrupt politicos The more social observations of Charles were successors to their English forerunners. Dana Gibson and James Montgomery Flagg used depictions that mostly avoided exaggerated ethnic characterization. this

I include below several examples of prints and illustrations from that period, which demonstrate the limning of Jews by the eighteenth-century illustrators who were most influential at that time.

My version of Fagin is, I believe, a more truthful stereotype.



An aquatint etching by Henry Wigstead (1785) showing two Jewish old-clothes dealers in London buying clothes from a domestic. The title, "Trafic," is accompanied by dialogue.



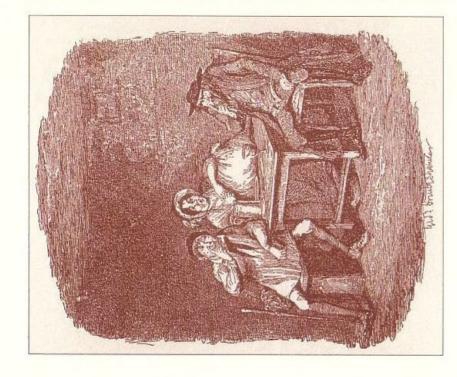








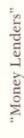
These two published prints, "I've Got de Monish" (circa 1792) and "Commandment, get all you can" (circa 1830), are examples of popular images that were widely sold in London. They helped create the accepted public stereotype of a Jew.

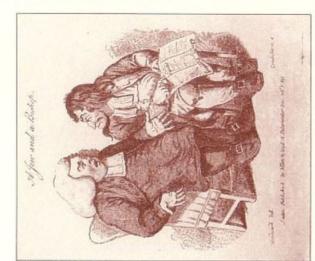


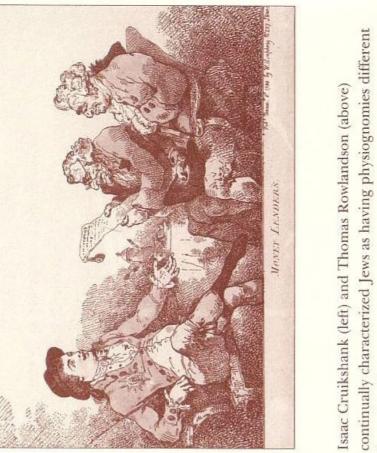




"Sephardic" physiognomy. In Cruikshank's version believe is more truthful. Germanic face, which I My version of Fagin is of Fagin, he shows a based on the more







from Gentiles.

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